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Ethnicity and Local Community Building: The Opal/Maybridge Farm Settlement in East-Central Alberta, 1919-1945

by

Aya Fujiwara

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Abstract

This thesis examines the role of ethnicity in the formation of rural communities and identity on the Canadian prairies, focusing on the Opal/Maybridge district in east-central Alberta between 1919 and 1945. The Ukrainians and Japanese, who settled in the area with other national groups, developed a sense of community beyond ethnicity through personal and formal interactions in everyday life, creating a shared "Canadianized" prairie experience and identity. Yet the impact of ethnicity on the character of this multiethnic settlement was obvious, especially when local farmers discovered the "ethnic" meanings of their culture and traditions by coming into contact with people of other origins. Ukrainian and Japanese ethnic consciousness was most pronounced, however, and caused tensions in the community, when local residents received political influences from their respective ethnic elites centred in the distant urban centres of Winnipeg and Vancouver. This aspect of their identity drew them away from the local community into a much larger national and international world. World War II totally changed ethnic relations in Opal/Maybridge, imposing a test of loyalty on both Ukrainians and Japanese, and segregating the latter as Enemy Aliens.

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Introduction

Western settlement has been a dominant theme in Canadian history as physically and psychologically important to nation building. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a multitude of rural settlements emerged on the Canadian prairies in response to government initiatives to recruit immigrants from various places in the world. In order to survive in a completely different physical and cultural environment, the newcomers began to create new and often close-knit communities. Factors shaping the social networks they established include the natural environment, the frontier, ethnicity, and metropolitan influences.[1] Studies on the impact of ethnicity on prairie settlement and society have tended to treat it as a key element in uniting people and to focus on one ethnic group at a time. This thesis, however, suggests that although ethnicity was undoubtedly a crucial part of people's identity at both elite and grassroots levels, and often preoccupied ethnic elites, who usually resided in larger urban centres, its impact was different among the rural grassroots. How settlers felt about their ethnic identity varied depending on whether they were politically, economically, and culturally incorporated into the larger Canadian society, had contacts with people of other ethnic origins, or were preoccupied with everyday survival.

Ethnicity became a major theme in studies of prairie settlement for several reasons. First, Anglo-Canadian politicians, scholars, educators, and others during the settlement period, who had their own vision of Canada as a British country, were trying to come to terms with the ethnic (and religious) diversity emerging on the prairies. Worried about mass immigration which might retard settlers' assimilation to British norms, they regarded ethnic and/or religious bloc settlements as serious problems which emphasized settlers' cultural distinctiveness. Educators and politicians, especially, carefully investigated these bloc settlements on the prairies, and their observations often appeared as studies on assimilation.[2] By the interwar years, while never doubting British supremacy in the political sphere, some writers came to enjoy the cosmopolitan character of the Canadian prairies, exoticizing the settlements in the West and arguing that the heritage which immigrants brought with them would enrich Canadian culture.[3] In this way, the ethnic and religious distinctiveness of prairie settlements was, more or less, defined by the mainstream society. As a result, groups like the British and Scandinavians, who had fewer cultural adjustment problems in the new land, remained relatively invisible.

Ethnic groups' own elites, who usually resided in larger urban centres, also played an important part in defining prairie settlements, determining the role of their people in Canadian society. Because non-British immigrants were always regarded as second-class citizens by mainstream leaders, these elites saw the need to mobilize and politicize their compatriots around strategies to secure full participation and recognition in Canadian society. At the same time as urging the settlers to be loyal to Canada, and to acquire Anglo-Canadian customs and English, they insisted on their right to maintain aspects of their old-world culture, loyalties, and identity, launching the idea of the Canadian "mosaic." Regarding themselves as the representatives of their people, these elites tried to influence often geographically remote rural settlements with a variety of messages promoted through

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[1] Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 5.

[2] See, for example, James T.M. Anderson, *The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem* (London and Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1918); Robert England, *The Central European Immigrant in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1929); Robert England, *The Colonization of Western Canada: A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement, 1896-1934* (London: P.S. King & Son, 1936); Charles Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931); and James S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within our Gate or Coming Canadians* (Toronto: Department of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909).

[3] See, for example, John Murray Gibbon, *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation* (Toronto: MacClelland and Stewart, 1938); Kate A. Foster, *Our Canadian Mosaic*

competing organizations and institutions. The grassroots, however, were not always interested in the politics or agenda preoccupying a distant elite.

Another reason which made ethnicity a popular topic is that immigration patterns indeed made ethnic (and religious) cohesiveness one of the most distinctive features of many prairie settlements. Ethnoreligious groups such as the Mennonites and Doukhobors - who came en masse and settled together in integrated colonies with a distinctive way of life, supported by the Canadian government's special policy of land reserves – are an obvious example.[4] Large bloc settlements were also created by the Ukrainians, largely because they went where friends and relatives or simply others of their own kind had already located. Isolation from the outside world and linguistic and cultural barriers helped confine the settlers to clusters. Not every group, however, established a single ethnic and/or religious settlement. Despite the natural preference for settling among their own people, British newcomers in particular generally did not develop highly integrated or distinctive ethnic and/or religious clusters, but were to be found in large numbers across the prairies. At the same time, such groups as Jews, Italians, Dutch, Chinese, and Japanese just did not have enough population in the prairie provinces to establish entirely single ethnic settlements; forced to live among settlers of other ethnic backgrounds, they contributed to the creation of innumerable multiethnic settlements on the prairies.

Psychological, physical and social networks of people are usually referred to as "communities." Because it is a term with many shades of meaning, and because sociologists and others differ in their definition, the central concept of "community" as used in this thesis must be clarified by examining some scholarly arguments. Many scholars agree on the point that a psychological tie stemming from common experiences is crucial in

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(Toronto: Dominion Council of the Y.W.C.A., 1926); and Watson Kirkconnell, *Canadian Overtones* (Winnipeg: Columbia Press, 1935).

[4] William Janzen, *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

creating a sense of "community." Sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies distinguishes *gemeinschaft* (community) from *gesellschaft* (society), describing the former as a unity based on common beliefs, emotions, and factors like kinship, neighbourhood, and friendship, while the latter represents an association of separate individuals coming together around things such as the market place and professional organizations.[5] Obviously, what distinguishes community from society is the emotional bond among its members. Robert V. Hine also emphasizes the role of spiritual factors in making a "community" in his study of the American frontier. "Without binding ties, without commonly assumed values, whether they be religious, psychological, economic, or cultural," he argues, "there can be no community."[6] Thomas Bender, who also explores "communities" in America, says that "community is best defined as a network of social relations marked by mutuality and emotional bonds."[7] He emphasizes that even kinship, neighbourhood, or friendship does not always constitute a "community," without any shared spirit and experience. Benedict Anderson's study of nations as "imagined communities" sees factors such as language and the development of print capitalism as playing important roles in making a network of people imaginable and thus capable of creating a nation or "community" that can inspire "profoundly self-sacrificing love."[8] Although Hine insists that the idea that "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts" exists among people in a "community," he also notes that the degree of fraternity varies from "community" to "community."[9] Ethnic and/or religious groups, then, form a peculiar type of community that may or may not be synonymous with

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[5] Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Association*, trans. Charles P Loomis (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955).

[6] Robert V. Hine, *Community on the American Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 25.

[7] Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (New Brunswick and New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1978), 7.

[8] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1983), 5-7, 141.

"nation," and which may or may not demand an emotional commitment by members or contain internal tensions and conflicts.

In addition, "communities" are not always coterminous with geographical borders, while others are formed by people in a specific place who share a social life. Bender argues that the concept of "community" is more than a place, because "experiential dimension" is crucial to its definition.[10] Nation-states, for example, appear to be based on territory, but no matter where their members live, they can maintain a sense of the same "community," as is the case with emigrants who identify with their homelands. This theory can also be applied to former frontier settlements where people have moved into cities yet maintain a sense of unity in retrospect, deeply relating their collective memory with locality even though the place no longer defines the "community" to which they belong. Understanding "community" as a place is thus to restrict its psychological and experiential dimensions. Although "community" is not restricted by geographical boundaries, a limited number of people is an important factor in defining it. Anderson's observation that "no nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind,"[11] is true not only for nations, but also for all other networks of people united by psychological factors. The notion of "community" is always based on the distinction between insiders and outsiders; as Bender points out, "there is a "we-ness" in a community."[12] Furthermore, the insiders do not always have face-to-face relations with each other, and in many cases, do not even know one another.[13] It is, however, a mistake to assume that "community" is a static solidarity composed of specific members. Boundaries of membership are flexible, and whether one is included or

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[9] Hine, *Community on the American Frontier*, 25.

[10] Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* , 6.

[11] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

[12] Bender, *Community and Social Change in America*, 7.

[13] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

excluded depends on when and how "communities" are imagined.[14] Finally, because of its psychological and imaginative nature, several types of "community" can exist simultaneously, while an individual can simultaneously be a member of several "communities."[15] This notion is significant in understanding people's identities and experiences. Depending on the situation or context, a person can identify more with one "community" than with other "communities" to which he or she belongs. For example, immigrants in Canada can identify with both their homeland and Canada, while the degree of their sense of belonging depends on their specific experiences. Examining only a single "community" to which an individual or group of people belongs is, therefore, to look at only one aspect of who they are.

"Community" as understood in this thesis is a dynamic solidarity of a limited number of people who share a common spirit, values, and experiences, which can happen anywhere at any time, assisted by factors such as the environment and institutions. Therefore, the study of community building on the Canadian prairies needs to investigate the interplay of a number of "communities" with which local settlers may have identified. John Bennett and Seena Kohl argue that there were three concrete stages in community building during the settlement of the Canadian and American Wests. The first saw the creation of cooperative relationships among neighbours and friends for their common necessities. The second was characterized by the construction of institutions such as schools and churches which played a key role in defining organized cooperative life. In the third stage individual settlement clusters were physically and economically defined by outside factors such as railway construction and the development of towns.[16] However, the process of creating psychological bonds among people who were often initially strangers also varied with the degree of ethnic or religious homogeneity of the settlers and the extent to which they retained their ethnic and religious identity. Multiethnic and multireligious settlements went through more complicated processes of uniting people than those consisting of or dominated by a single ethnic or religious group because of divisive factors such as culture, language, and faith.

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[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Bender, *Community and Social Change in America*, 33.

[16] John W. Bennett and Seena B. Kohl, *Settling the Canadian-American West, 1890-1915: Pioneer Adaptation and Community Building* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

This thesis deals with the Opal/Maybridge area in east-central Alberta where people of various ethnic origins settled, focusing on two culturally different groups: the Ukrainians and the Japanese. This area offers an ideal setting for a case study of community building in several ways. First, it was settled by racially, religiously, and culturally diverse groups such as the British, Poles, Ukrainians, Japanese, and French. Examining two completely different minority peoples in a multiethnic settlement provides a better understanding of the roles which ethnicity played in creating communal networks on the prairies. It offers insights into how such mainstream ideologies as Anglo-conformity and the melting-pot, together with the notion of a mosaic as defined by ethnic elites, played out among the rural grassroots. Second, located on the edge of the Ukrainian bloc settlement, the area was mainly populated by Ukrainian settlers, while also relatively close to the city of Edmonton. This situation becomes a good measure of how much cultural and political influences from the mainstream society penetrated a rural settlement where Anglo-Canadians were not a majority. Third, the Opal/Maybridge area, as so-called bush country which was isolated and not ideal for farming, shows whether a common frontier experience and challenge united people of different backgrounds and languages to develop a sense of community. Fourth, this district matured as a local community in the 1920s and 1930s, when the Canadian-born children of the original Ukrainian and Japanese immigrant settlers were growing up, permitting cross-generational comparisons with respect to community building. Finally, while Opal/Maybridge had a strong sense of unity by the time World War

II broke out, wartime events show how local ethnic relations can change in terms of crisis, even in close-knit local societies.

Chapter 1 looks at how historians and others, particularly sociologists, have dealt with ethnicity in studies of prairie settlement. Chapter 2 provides the necessary background to a case study of Opal/Maybridge, in terms of Ukrainian and Japanese immigration, settlement patterns, and institutional developments, as well as the establishment of Opal/Maybridge itself. Chapter 3 explores how a local sense of community developed at Opal/Maybridge between Ukrainian and Japanese settlers through various levels of interaction in both public and private spheres. How interaction among settlers for the necessities of everyday life developed a sense of community beyond ethnicity, and how ethnicity was incorporated into local identity and experience, are the main questions. The chapter depends heavily on oral interviews with the second generation and immigrant autobiographies, always recognizing that personal recollections are affected by subsequent collective memory, the way in which interviewers set questions, unreliability because of distance from events, and unreliability and selectivity due to nostalgia.[17] However, for a new, small settlement like Opal/Maybridge, which did not even have a community newspaper, few written documents exist; in addition, people's insights and feelings, even in retrospect, are particularly important to a study of identity. Chapter 4 situates Opal/Maybridge Ukrainians and Japanese within the context of larger "Canadian" and "ethnic" communities. How the mainstream ideology of Anglo-conformity affected the local social structure and ethnic hierarchy, and how area residents became Canadianized, is one question. How the nation-wide ethnic networks established by Ukrainian and Japanese elites centred in Winnipeg and Vancouver simultaneously affected their lives and identities is a second question. As sources, the chapter relies mainly on ethnic and mainstream newspapers and other writings from the period to construct the goals of both Anglo-Canadian and Ukrainian and Japanese elites; oral interviews are again important for the attitudes of the Ukrainians and Japanese in Opal/Maybridge to these outside issues and messages. Finally, chapter 5 explores how a special event like World War II had a crucial impact on Ukrainian and Japanese ethnic groups in Canada, creating uncertainty and insecurity, testing their loyalty, and even changed the relationship between local Ukrainians and Japanese in a small community like Opal/Maybridge. Using this framework, this thesis concludes that both Ukrainians and Japanese at Opal/Maybridge developed an identity and sense of community that was simultaneously "Canadian" and local based on shared experience and place, and "ethnic" and outward looking, tying them to homeland traditions and concerns.

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[17] *Ibid.*, 94. For an in-depth discussion of oral history as a source, see Bruce M. Ross, *Remembering the Past: Descriptions of Autobiographical Memory* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Chapter 1
Scholarly Understanding of Prairie Ethnic and/or Rural Communities

Prairie settlement, and the development of human networks or communities on the frontier, have been among the most popular topics in studies of the Canadian West. The main purpose of this chapter is to review how scholars, especially historians and sociologists, have dealt with the roles of ethnicity and religion in the formation of community. General prairie histories, for example, tend to treat ethnicity and religion as independent themes and do not incorporate them into an analysis of either rural community building or the creation of a prairie society. Furthermore, they most often discuss individual ethnic and religious groups in isolation, and only rarely examine the local relationships crossing ethnic and religious lines which occurred in multiethnic settlements. For their part, ethnic and ethnoreligious histories, which concentrate on a specific group, analyze environmental, social, and economic factors only within the framework of ethnicity or religion, and do not pay attention to the role of these elements in transforming or transcending ethnic and religious boundaries. As a result, ethnic and religious groups appear to be independent of prairie society and tied to their people nation-wide. Also, although studies on specific local settlements tend to examine the impact of a variety of elements, including old-world traditions, ethnicity and religion are often disconnected from larger political phenomena and treated only as customs and culture which immigrants brought to Canada.

Ethnicity and religion have been important themes in the literature on the Canadian prairies. Many studies, in fact, define "community" primarily in ethnic and/or religious terms. Unquestionably, ethnicity and religion united people in the Canadian West, as immigrants settled among their own kind with whom they could share customs, faith, culture and language. In this sense, ethnicity and religion first determined settlement patterns. It would, however, be a mistake to say that ethnicity and/or religion are the only elements which created "communities" in the Canadian West. As Paul Voisey argues, it was "the interplay among heritage, metropolis, frontier and environment" that was crucial in creating rural prairie communities as part of crystallizing prairie society.[1] In general, studies which define a "community" primarily in ethnic and/or religious terms tend, consciously or not, to neglect possible factors uniting people across ethnic and/or religious lines, and fail to explore how ethnicity and/or religion in turn have been affected by the prairie experience.

This tendency is seen in both specialized and general studies of the Canadian prairies. For example, books by Howard and Tamara Palmer, Gerald Friesen and Benjamin G. Smillie all look at prairie communities in ethnic and/or religious terms. Because they emphasize ethnicity and religion as nation-wide phenomena, they can overlook local forces which affected ethnic and religious boundaries. Donald A. Smith's chapter in the Palmers' study, *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity*, for example, discusses the French community in the province divorced from its local context and solely in nation-wide terms, claiming that "the resurgence of a dynamic, assertive Quebec has given the Franco-Albertan community a real opportunity to regain lost ground."[2] It is only natural to pay attention to the larger ethnic and/or religious networks to which settlers and their descendants belonged, but the local environment and its impact cannot be ignored. As Smith suggests, Franco-Albertans were and are indeed part of a larger French network connected with Quebec, but he does not show how the Franco-Albertan community differed from Quebec, affected by its numerical weakness, homesteading experience, and interaction with other groups. Ann and David Sunahara's chapter also takes this nation-wide perspective and looks at the Japanese in Alberta in connection with their counterparts in British Columbia, without exploring how differences between two provinces in their policies towards the Japanese distinguished the Albertan experience from the British Columbian one. Similarly, Gerald Friesen's survey of Canadian prairie history not only situates ethnic groups in their national context but also discusses them in terms of "pan-Anglo Saxon," "pan-German," and "pan-Ukrainian" identities in Canada.[3] Because he deals with such themes as "the rural west" and "immigrant communities" in completely separate chapters, he does not show whether and how these identities were shared by all rural settlers belonging to the groups he discusses, or whether and how they were shaped by the frontier.[4] Smillie's much narrower focus in *Visions of the New Jerusalem: Religious Settlement on the Prairies* also looks at prairie developments as part of larger religious communities, but does not say how religious motivations and ideas themselves were influenced by local factors within the prairie context. Raymond Huel's chapter on the French Catholics, for example, always relates Catholic churches in the West with Quebec, arguing that "the Catholic Church in the West propagated in the interior the ideas and ambitions of its eastern parent."[5] Because Huel confines his discussion to how and when Roman Catholicism spread over the prairies, the question of transformation remains untouched.

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[1] Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 248.

[2] Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, eds., *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), 108; see also Howard Palmer, *Land of the Second Chance: A History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta* (Lethbridge: Lethbridge Herald, 1972).

Among the studies which define a "community" primarily by ethnicity and/or religion, C.A. Dawson's 1936 study on assimilation, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada*, stands out. He alone explained his decision to define "community" in ethnic and/or religious terms, arguing that in settlements where a single ethnic group dominated, a "sense of communal solidarity" existed from the beginning. He identified several reasons for this solidarity. First, some groups - like the Doukhobors, the Mennonites, and the Mormons - initially had an "enthusiasm for an ideal way of life" as ethnoreligious sects. Second, religious groups like French-speaking Catholics were closely tied by nationalistic and linguistic sentiments. Third, community leaders - particularly Mormon, German, and French Catholic elites for whom religion was coterminous with ethnicity - encouraged their respective peoples to join the colonies. [6] Not only did Dawson clarify how ethnicity and religion became crucial factors in establishing these prairie communities, but he also discussed their changing roles. After taking into account local assimilatory forces such as farming and schooling, he concluded that his five groups more or less assimilated into prairie society, with religion becoming more secular. The chapter on French Catholics, for example, carefully examined the origins, population, economy, and agricultural and household operations in the colonies of St. Albert and Ste. Rose. Dawson regarded increasing contact with English-speaking communities as the key element which distinguished the Franco-Albertan experience from Quebec, arguing that the secularization of Catholic churches and the acquisition of English occurred much faster in the West than in Quebec so that Franco-Albertan colonies became similar to those of English-speaking people on the prairies.

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[3] Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 261-262, 265.

[4] *Ibid.*, 257-265.

While general prairie histories and much narrower studies of prairie settlement look at ethnicity and religion as important topics to address, ethnic histories elevate ethnicity to the framework for writing history. These ethnic histories, of course, understand ethnicity as the primary factor in creating a community, both locally and nationally. Concentrated on

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[5] Raymond J.A. Huel, "Gestae Dei Per Francos: The French Canadian Experience in Western Canada," in *Visions of the New Jerusalem: Religious Settlement on the Prairies*, ed. Benjamin G. Smillie (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1983), 40.

[6] C.A. Dawson, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1936), xiii.

a specific ethnic group, they try to examine the complicated process by which individual immigrants and scattered settlements came together around churches and secular institutions, often promoted by ideologically motivated ethnic leaders. The problem, however, is that ethnic historians tend to treat ethnicity and religion as a positive, isolated, and permanent phenomenon, and to neglect the larger societal and environmental contexts which might have challenged their importance. As a result, social and economic transformation in a particular setting is usually discussed only within the framework of ethnicity. Ethnic boundaries are, however, historically flexible - strengthened or weakened, depending on political, environmental, social, and economic circumstances in a specific time or place. Therefore, historical studies of community based on locality must first question the accuracy of treating ethnicity or religion as the framework for discussion.

The problems of treating ethnicity or religion as the fixed framework within which everything must be discussed, and the lack of openness to other factors if they clash with them, are illustrated well by Ukrainian- and Japanese-Canadian histories. Sociologist Charles H. Young's 1931 monograph, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation*, and his subsequent 1938 study, *The Japanese Canadians*, are the first serious in-depth works on both groups.[7] Writing as an outsider and proponent of assimilation, Young emphasized Ukrainian and Japanese ethnic boundaries, which he regarded as a serious problem, more than acculturation, arguing that bloc settlement by Ukrainians and Japanese concentration in British Columbia were an obstacles to both their economic and cultural "progress" and improved health and living standards. As a result, Young did not show how ethnic and religious boundaries were transformed in either rural or urban settings, challenged by local environmental and social forces. Later Ukrainian and Japanese histories keep the same framework but, unlike Young's monographs, regard ethnicity as a given good. As a result, these studies certainly provide a valuable set of facts - especially with respect to formal activities, organizations, and prominent individuals - but choose not to question or examine in what context ethnicity became less important. Paul Yuzyk's 1967 study, for example, demonstrates how the organized Ukrainian-Canadian community arose around churches, secular organizations, and specific individuals, but totally divorces Ukrainian ethnicity and religion from their Canadian context. Yuzyk emphasizes Ukrainians' contribution to all spheres of Canadian life, but written in the 1960s when ethnic groups like the Ukrainians strove to claim full partnership in Confederation, this celebratory work was intended to confirm Ukrainians' role and not look at their cultural transformation through interaction with local or Canadian society.[8] Yuzyk's earlier regional study, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba*, elevates Ukrainians to self-sufficient "pioneers" who opened Canada's hinterland and emphasizes their socioeconomic progress; the book emphasizes Ukrainians' contribution as farmers, as professionals, and as an organized group, but does not investigate their role in its Manitoba context.[9] The same self-congratulatory tendency is seen in Japanese-Canadian histories such as Roy Ito's *We Went to War: The Story of the Japanese Canadians Who Served During the First and Second World Wars*, which treats the veterans as heroes and emphasizes the Japanese "contribution" to Canada's war.[10] Similarly, the collection of essays on Ukrainians in *A*

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[7] See Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study of Assimilation* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931); and Charles H. Young and Helen R.Y. Reid, *The JapaneseCanadians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1938).

[8] Paul Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life* (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation, 1967).

[9] See Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953).

[10] Roy Ito, *We Went to War: Stories of the Japanese Canadians Who Served During the First and Second World Wars* (Stittsville: Canada's Wings, 1984); see also Roy Ito, *Stories of My People: A Japanese Canadian Journal* (Hamilton: Promark Printing, 1994). The Japanese evacuation from the West Coast during World War II has produced a large amount of non-scholarly literature, which often depends on personal recollections and does not always divorce itself from the massive victim image of the Japanese. For example, see

Heritage in Transition and Ken Adachi's Japanese history, *The Enemy That Never Was*, both part of the government-funded Generation Series, treat ethnicity as positive and self-sustaining, although they are not as unrestrained as Paul Yuzyk and Roy Ito. Because these two books were published as part of a series which aimed to present the history and roles of Canada's ethnic groups, they are particularly interested in how Ukrainians and Japanese contributed to Canadian life, illustrated through politics, churches, cultural institutions, economic activity and the like.[11] As a result, the Ukrainian experience, in particular, was largely divorced from larger social, economic and environmental circumstances which might have transformed ethnic boundaries. While Michael H. Marunchak's 1982 study takes a more factual approach and is much more detailed than either *The Ukrainians in Manitoba* or *A Heritage in Transition*, it also uses the same packaging, filling Ukrainian-Canadian history with achievements and outstanding individuals in such spheres as pioneering, religion, secular organizational life, the press, politics, business, the professions, and the arts in an encyclopedic way.[12] Marunchak never relates any of this to the Canadian social, economic and political context within which it emerged and existed, presenting an image of the Ukrainian community in isolation.

Barry Broadfoot, *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame: The History of the Japanese Canadians in World War II* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1977); Maryka Omatsu, *Bittersweet Passage: Redress and the Japanese Canadian Experience* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1992); Toyo Tanaka, *Nikkei Legacy: The Story of Japanese Canadians from Settlement to Today* (Toronto: NC Press Ltd., 1983); and Muriel Kitagawa, *This Is My Own: Letters to Wes and Other Writings on Japanese Canadians, 1941-1948* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1986). A study by four historians, however, reexamines the Japanese-Canadian victim image: see Patricia E. Roy, J.L. Granatstein, Masako Iino, and Hiroko Takamura, *Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese during the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

[11] Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); and Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: An Account of the Deplorable Treatment Inflicted on Japanese Canadians During World War II* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976).

[12] Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, 2d ed. (Winnipeg and Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1982).

Although ethnicity is always important to ethnic historians, and despite the prominence of ethnically identifiable prairie literature, historians and others have tended to neglect interaction among people of different ethnic backgrounds in early prairie frontier settlement. In general, studies of prairie settlement tend to deal with each ethnic group in isolation, dividing their chapters or organizing their discussion by ethnic (and/or religious) groups. Gerald Friesen's standard textbook, for example, discusses such groups as the British, the French, the Ukrainians, the Mennonites, and the Jews all in separate paragraphs. In another chapter, he argues that the era of social and economic cooperation among all types of people was short-lived on the prairies because of the emergence of ethnic and class divisions.[13] Friesen's failure is to assume that ethnicity would always cause tension, when many kinds of social divisions can diminish to the extent that prairie dwellers create other kinds of enduring community beyond ethnic (or religious and class) lines through their common experience. The Palmers' *Peoples of Alberta*, also discusses the groups in question - Franco-Albertans, Scots, Ontarians, Dutch, Icelanders, Estonians, Ukrainians, Romanians, Poles, Hungarians, Jews, Hutterites, Blacks, Japanese, South Asians, and Vietnamese - all in separate chapters written by different authors.[14] This approach makes it impossible to examine intergroup relations. Obviously, not every group established a single ethnic settlement in Alberta, or simply did not have enough population to do so, and settled among other peoples. For these groups, the "others" were much more important than their remote fellow people.

Just as ethnic groups had various settlement patterns, they experienced pioneering in different ways, depending on their cultural baggage and the natural environment. Great events like the two world wars also had different impacts on each group. For example, World War II did not affect Enemy Aliens, such as the Japanese, and other Canadians in the same way. Similarly, assimilation occurred much faster among western Europeans than among east Europeans and Asians. Furthermore, there were differences in the nature and degree of cohesiveness, which means that each ethnic group has its own subjects to be highlighted and should not be treated generally. There is, however, a tendency to generalize ethnic experiences, artificially assigning the definition of "community" in advance in the framework to be adopted, and resulting in a uniform picture. The two Palmer studies on Alberta, for example, do not include unique topics for individual ethnic groups, and instead evenly apply main themes such as settlement, politics, religion, community-making, world wars, and assimilation to everyone.[15] The Palmers' assigned chapters in *Peoples of Alberta* also create such groupings as Ontarians, South Asians, the original peoples, and Blacks, whose members are culturally diverse. This approach obscures what kinds of experience led to some ethnic communities being more integrated than others.

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[13] Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 311.

[14] Palmer and Palmer, *Peoples of Alberta*.

The assigned and conventional themes also tend to present a monolithic picture of each ethnic group. There was always a great distance between the role which ethnic elites in western cities played and the way in which the rural grassroots thought and actually lived. In general, prairie studies have tended to focus on the former and neglect the latter. For example, Oleh W. Gerus's chapter in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk's collection of essays on negotiating Ukrainian-Canadian identity explains how the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League was established, describing the politics of the nationalist intelligentsia, but never questions if or how ordinary Ukrainian Canadians regarded themselves as part of the organized Ukrainian community.[16] Similarly, Mark G. McGowan's chapter on religion, which looks at the influence of the Roman Catholic church over the Ukrainian Catholics, concentrates on tensions between Greek and Latin rites at the elite level. McGowan does not ask whether the grassroots shared the visions and concerns of Ukrainian religious elites, yet concludes that "divided, the French and English could not prevail over the will of the Ukrainian people to survive as a distinctive community."[17] The absence of the grassroots can also be seen in a recent work on Japanese Canadians, Masako Iino's *Nikkei Kanadajin No Rekishi* (*A history of Japanese Canadians*), which overviews major themes from immigration to the redress movement on behalf of Japanese during World War II.[18] Her focus on the attitudes and policies of the Canadian government towards the Japanese, and the Japanese elite's response to them, not only creates a monolithic image of the Japanese community, but also ignores how the Japanese leaders mobilized their people, and how such events like the Vancouver riots, evacuation, and resettlement affected the general Japanese population.

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[15] See *ibid.*; and Palmer, *Land of the Second Chance*.

[16] Olen W. Gerus, "Consolidating the Community: The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League," in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*, ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

Some ethnic histories do try to create a balance by discussing both the urban elite and the grassroots, including urban labourers and rural settlers. It should be noted, however, that even these histories devote more space to the establishment of an organized community by the elite, and tend to discuss rural settlers and urban elites separately. As a result, they certainly present a good picture of how the ethnic elite mobilized the grassroots, but they do not shed light on the rural response to elite activities, or look at ordinary people's attitudes and identity independently. The lack of interaction can be seen in Orest Martynowych's study of early Ukrainian settlement, and Marunchak's monograph. Although Marunchak includes a chapter on homesteaders and labourers, he focuses on economic issues and living standards, and when he moves to topics such as religion, organizations, and education, he does not discuss how the grassroots were involved.[19] His approach thus lacks any sense of exchange between the urban elite and the rural grassroots.

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[17] Mark G. McGowan, "'A Portion for the Vanquished': Roman Catholics and the Ukrainian Catholic Church," in *ibid.*, 237.

[18] Masako Iino, *Nikkei Kanadajin No Rekishi* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1997).

Martynowych takes a more elaborate approach than Marunchak, with chapters on rural settlers, frontier labourers, and urban immigrants. Yet his treatment of all these groups in isolated chapters results in separate pictures of each, in which the concentration is on living conditions. The third section of Martynowych's study, "Mobilizing Ukrainian Immigrants," examines how the Roman Catholic church, Anglo-Canadian Protestants, and the Ukrainian intelligentsia tried to control the Ukrainian grassroots. However, it emphasizes the activities of elites more than the grassroots' reaction, describing the role of the clergy, the press, churches and secular institutions.[20] Therefore, the extent to which their ideologies reached and were absorbed by the Ukrainian people remains unclear.

The tendency to generalize about ethnic groups, and to fail to appreciate nuances, is also apparent in works on prairie settlement that equate religion and class with ethnicity. For example, Benjamin G. Smillie's collection of essays in *Visions of the New Jerusalem* does not distinguish ethnicity from religion and tends to apply particular religious affiliations to particular ethnic groups, treating the latter as ethnoreligious units and as though all members of the ethnic group were religiously motivated. Although Frank Peake's chapter attempts to explain Anglican idealism, it focuses on British settlement schemes such as the Barr Colony, hardly touching on how Anglican motivation contributed to local community building. Peake discusses the Barr Colony essentially only in ethnic terms, arguing that Isaac Barr was searching for "the chance of planting an exclusively British colony on the empty prairies."[21] Stella Hryniuk and Roman Yereniuk's chapter on the Ukrainian experience has more serious flaws in treating two different churches - the Ukrainian Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic - as one vision and one mission. The

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[19] Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*.

[20] Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1991), 78-305.

[21] Frank Peake, "Anglicanism on the Prairies: Continuity and Flexibility," in Smillie, *Visions of the New Jerusalem*, 63.

problem is that the authors never question whether these two churches indeed worked as motivation for any or all Ukrainian immigration, only describing the process by which both churches became established on the prairies.[22] Obviously, ethnic Ukrainians, who were religiously diverse, cannot be treated in the same way as ethnoreligious groups like the Mennonites and Doukhobors.

Besides the confusion between ethnicity and religion, class consciousness is often tied with ethnicity in the literature on prairie communities. Neglecting class divisions within an ethnic group strengthens a cohesive image by ascribing uniform aspirations. This problem is well illustrated by the literature on English settlers which deals with utopian projects, such as Cannington Manor and the Barr Colony, to reconstruct British society on the prairies based on aristocracy, pastoral capitalism, or democracy. "Gentlemen" or "gentlewomen" and "upper-middle class gentry" often seem to dominate to the exclusion of other classes, so that British immigrants are often perceived as class specific and privileged. This popularity of the privileged classes as a subject can be seen in Mark Zuehlke's book on British remittance men, Susan Jackel's edited collection of turn-of-the-century writings by British emigrant gentlewomen, and Patrick Dunae's study of British public school boys on the Canadian frontier.[23] Without works on other types of British settlers to balance this emphasis, the picture created is both monotonous and misleading.

Although ethnic histories treat ethnicity (and often religion) as primary elements which determine "community," rural historians address a variety of factors - social, economic, environmental, ethnic, and religious - in their analyses, and tend to consider ethnicity and religious boundaries as more flexible than do ethnic historians. They emphasize local institutions such as schools and churches, the frontier, and the weather as forces bringing people together, and conclude that the bonds formed through common social activities and securing economic necessities led to the decline, in the long run, of divisions such as class and ethnicity. Rural histories also examine metropolitan influences which shaped local communities as part of prairie society. It is only natural to take into account local and outside pressures which challenged ethnic and religious lines. However, when rural histories incorporate concerns from urban centres, they tend to focus only on mainstream pressures such as the development of towns, the construction of railways, and boosterism, and neglect the roles of distance urban ethnic elites in affecting local rural settlers. Rural-urban relations within the ethnic sphere, however, are significant and not only in single ethnic blocs but also in multiethnic settlements where the ideological messages from urban centres worked to confirm ethnic boundaries, settling people apart from their neighbours of different origins.

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[22] Stella Hryniuk and Roman Yereniuk, "Building the New Jerusalem on the Prairies: The Ukrainian Experience," in *Ibid.*, 137-152.

[23] Mark Zuehlke, *Scoundrels, Dreamers, and Second Sons, British Remittance Men in the Canadian West* (Vancouver and Toronto: Whitecap Books Ltd., 1994); see also Susan Jackel, ed., *A Flannel Shirt and Liberty: British Emigrant Gentlewomen in the Canadian West, 1880-1914* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982); and Patrick A. Dunae, *Gentlemen Emigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981).

The tendency to examine ethnicity only in the local context creates problems. One problem is whether, and to what extent, the ideas of urban ethnic elites reached local settlements remains unexplored, because rural residents are divorced from the often nation-wide and much wider ethnic communities to which they also belong. This tendency can be seen in two Alberta studies, Jean Burnet's examination of the Hanna area and Paul Voisey's history of Vulcan. Burnet discusses ethnic divisions between German-Russians and those of British and other northern European backgrounds only in their local context, arguing that ethnic tensions and conflicts rarely surfaced in the Hanna area for four reasons. First, cash-crop wheat farming broke down German-Russian cohesion because it meant that they had to make contact with other farmers and businessmen for their farm equipment and daily goods. Second, schools furthered their assimilation, because children went to school and met English-speaking people. Third, World War II acted as a psychological turning point for Germans anxious to distance themselves from their own community and not to be identified with the German cause. Finally, the German-Russian community was never replenished by new immigrants, and with the passage to a second and a third generation, did not practice its traditional lifestyle any longer.[24] Burnet pays little attention to any connections with other German-Russian communities in Canada, and although she mentions the German cause in relation to World War II, whether or how their ethnic background affected the lives of local German-Russians during the war was not discussed. In the Vulcan area, Voisey examines the relationship between the British population and other northern Europeans such as the Scandinavians, the Germans, and the Dutch, and concludes that ethnic conflicts rarely surfaced.[25] He points out three reasons for the ethnic tolerance. First, most people in the Vulcan area were northern and western Europeans. Second, most settlers were brought up in North America and English-speaking. Third, they went through rapid acculturation. Focused essentially on local conditions and changes, Voisey does not consider how larger ethnic and/or religious networks to which the rural settlers belonged might have affected them. Both Burnet and Voisey treat ethnicity only as heritage which was brought to Canada and perhaps manifested locally, but not as something that linked their subjects to communities and gave them identities outside the local context.[26]

There are other problems as well, related to how Burnet and Voisey explain the emerging local social structure in terms of class and ethnicity. In the Hanna area, the German-Russians created a dominant settlement in the countryside, while the town consisted mainly of English-speaking people. Although the German-Russians gradually assimilated into the English-speaking mainstream society, Burnet argues, the tensions between the rural area and the town, to some degree, stemmed from the ethnic division between the German-Russians and the English-speaking population.[27] But because she deals with ethnic divisions in an independent chapter she fails to show if or how the gradual assimilation of the German-Russians into the local Canadianized culture affected relations between town and country and changed the local social structure. Similarly, Voisey's study does not explore the relationship between class and ethnic divisions, discussing ethnic relations, economic activity, and social structure separately. When he turns to the issue of politics and social structure, for example, he argues that "neither wealth and class nor character and behavior are sufficient indicators of social acceptance," yet notes that hostility towards the Chinese, whom he describes as self-employed businessmen, was strong.[28]

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[24] Jean Burnet, *Next Year Country: A Study of Rural Social Organization in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951), 42-50.

[25] Voisey, *Vulcan*, 227.

Because ethnicity and religion often became divisive forces among rural settlers against unifying factors such as isolation and frontier cooperation, it would be appropriate to assume that multiethnic and multireligious settlements had at least as many, if not more, internal social divisions than homogeneous ones. However, because many studies choose to examine relatively homogeneous settlements and groups of people, the natural conclusion is that rural communities rarely experienced ethnic conflicts among settlers (religious tensions are more obvious). Alex A. Cameron and Leo Thordarson's 1954 history of prairie development is an early example of this approach. The authors identify three assimilatory forces - problems emerging from the natural environment, schools which offered a common language, and the two world wars which united all people behind a

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[26] See also Robert S. Irwin, "The Emergence of Regional Identity: The Peace River Country, 1910-46," (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1995), which discusses how European immigrants' identity was incorporated into the local identity.

[27] Burnet, *Next Year Country*, 88.

[28] Voisey, *Vulcan*, 214.

common cause – but they fail to see tensions in these forces as well.[29] Obviously, both world wars increased hostility towards Enemy Aliens and suspect ethnic groups, while the school also created lines between English-speaking and other children. Eliane Silverman, in her collection of reminiscences by prairie women, also argues that ethnicity and religion were not crucial to people on the frontier and that their desire for mutual cooperation and common experience united them.[30] Few of her informants, however, were ethnic or non-mainstream women. In his history of the Vulcan area, Paul Voisey presents a theory of community development which generalizes all local communities on the prairies. He argues that all prairie settlements went through similar experiences on the grounds that each was shaped by the impact and interplay of heritage, metropolis, frontier, and environment in creating community – all of which are difficult to measure.[31] It is, however, problematic to create a model of community formation from a relatively homogeneous place like the Vulcan area, settled mainly by mainstream people such as the British, Americans, and Ontarians, among whom, Voisey suggests, neither ethnic, class division, nor town-country conflicts surfaced in any serious way. The situation in more culturally diverse settlements, whose local secular organizations and churches with outside links and parent bodies often segregated people along ethnic lines, was different. In addition, although the frontier, metropolitan influences, and the natural environment played an important role in changing immigrants' lifestyles and cultures, the reaction of settlers to these forces was coloured by their ethnic and/or religious backgrounds. Also, for non-British immigrants, the metropolitan influences that affected them came as much from their respective homelands as eastern Canada or Great Britain.

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[29] Alex A. Cameron and Leo Thordarson, *Prairie Progress* (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1954), 104-105.

[30] Eliane Leslau Silverman, *The Last Best West: Women on the Alberta Frontier, 1880-1930* (Montreal: Eden Press, 1984), 161.

[31] Voisey, *Vulcan*, 249-250.

Among prairie histories, C.A. Dawson and Eva R. Younge's 1940 study, *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of The Settlement Process*, is a good example of looking at how the prairie experience varied among different ethnic and/or religious groups. Written during the assimilationist period, the study carefully examines how each ethnic and/or religious group assimilated and how provincial governments organized schools and other services to meet its needs and demands. The authors show that both the assimilation process and reactions to mainstream institutions varied from group to group. For example, while the German Catholics and Ukrainians were positive towards public education, the Mennonites and Doukhobors strongly resisted secular schools.[32]

In addition to ethnic and/or religious diversity, individual settlements had their own environmental and social settings. Uniqueness of settlement experience, a sense of neighbourhood, and people's personal perspectives are perhaps best reflected in local history books, compiled by former settlers or their descendants who lived in the area. Although local histories are dominated by the groups which constituted the majority of the population, they tend to include almost everyone. For example, Audrey Hrynchuk and Jean Klufas's book on the Redwater district in east-central Alberta includes not only the majority Ukrainians, but also a few Polish, French, and Japanese families as pioneers.[33] Similarly, Martin L. Kovacs's account of the Hungarian community in the Kipling and Bekever district of Saskatchewan notes that although Hungarians were the largest group they did not form an exclusive community, describing non-Hungarians joining social activities such as picnics and sports.[34]

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[32] C.A. Dawson and Eva R. Younge, *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1940), 170-171.

[33] Audrey Hrynchuk and Jean Klufas, eds., *Memories: Redwater and District* (Calgary: D.W. Friesen and Sons Ltd., 1972).

[34] Martin L. Kovacs, *Peace and Strife: Some Facts of the History of An Early Prairie Community* (Kipling: Kipling District Historical Society, 1980).

Local histories, however, have their weaknesses. First, they tend to concentrate on conventional themes such as pioneering, recreational activities, schools, churches, organizations, health care, and personal recollections, and they tend to concentrate on facts. As a result, these books constitute a good source of isolated pieces of information but say little about community building and the formation of local identity. Furthermore, local histories tend to neglect ethnic, religious, class, town-country divisions. This is partly because they are intended to be celebratory, partly because their authors are claiming for "their" past, and partly because their memories are filled with nostalgia - all of which makes shared experiences and emotions more important than conflicts. The sense of community is, to some degree, a creation of the present time. For example, *Pride in Progress* celebrates the achievements and cooperative spirit of the first pioneer settlers in the Chipman, St. Michael, and Star districts of Alberta over more than eight hundred pages but hostilities and conflicts never appear.[35] The final problem with local histories concerns the way in which personal recollections and individual stories are written. Although valuable as sources of information on individual families, they are not only presented in isolation from each other, as though people never interacted, but also divorced from the other chapters which discuss the organization of community institutions and the development of social networks.[36]

The literature on prairie settlement and ethnic history understands "community" in many ways. While few studies examine the interplay among ethnicity, religion, and economic and social factors in creating community, many focus on one or another of these forces. The literature usually also overlooks the fact that one can be simultaneously a member of several communities. In this sense, settlers on the Canadian prairies could easily belong to both local and nation-wide ethnic and/or religious communities. An examination of multiethnic settlements, in particular, must take into account the interaction among a variety of overlapping and competing communities to which local residents belonged.

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[35] *Pride in Progress: Chipman-St.Michael-Edna/Star and Districts* (Chipman: Alberta Rose Historical Society, 1982).

[36] See, for example, Hrynchuk and Klufas, *Memories*; Ann Saville, ed., Ravenscrag History Book Committee, *Between and Beyond the Benches: Ravenscrag* (Regina: Ravenscrag History Book Committee, 1981); and Nancy Mattson Schelstraete, ed., *Life in the New Finland Woods: A History of New Finland* (Rocanville: *New Finland Historical and Heritage Society*, 1982).

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Chapter 2

Evolution of Ukrainian- and Japanese-Canadian Settlement and the Rise of Opal/Maybridge

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Canadian government saw western expansion as crucial for Canada's growth as a nation. The physical development of the West crystallized in conjunction with the Conservatives' plan to cope with the depression that started in the mid-1870s. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean in 1885, facilitating the mass movement to the West by both migrants from central and eastern Canada and immigrants from overseas or the United States, was accompanied by a series of land policies. In addition to special "reserves" that brought specific groups, the homestead act providing for one hundred sixty acres of "free land" attracted many potential farmers to the prairie provinces, including some 170,000 Ukrainian peasants. Canada's Ukrainian population was augmented by interwar immigrants, 68,000 individuals in total, most of whom arrived under the Railways Agreement between 1925 and 1930.[1] Mass immigration dramatically changed the ethnic composition of the prairie provinces by 1931; only about fifty per cent of the population was British in origin and some twenty per cent east European, which in later years offered Ukrainians and others a sense of importance as nation builders alongside the British.[2] Asians settled mainly in British Columbia, and increasingly had to contend with the

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[1] For the first immigration, see, for example, John C. Lehr, "Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians," in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*, ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 30-51; David J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy, 1896-1905," in *The Settlement of the West*, ed. Howard Palmer (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1977), 60-85; and Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), 3-70. For the second immigration, see, for example, Myron Gulka-Tiechko, "Ukrainian Immigration to Canada under the Railways Agreement, 1925-30," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 16, nos. 1-2 (1991): 29-60; and Brian Osborne, "'Non-Preferred' People: Interwar Ukrainian Immigration to Canada," in Luciuk and Hryniuk, *Canada's Ukrainians*, 81-102.

[2] William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds., *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980), Series 20.1-11.

Canadian government's efforts to restrict their entry by imposing a head tax on Chinese and quotas on Japanese immigrants. The Gentleman's Agreement between Japan and Canada in 1908 helped keep the Japanese population under some three per cent in the province, where those of British origin still constituted seventy per cent of residents in 1931.[3] Japanese immigration peaked between 1905 and 1908, when approximately 11,500 individuals arrived and engaged primarily in farming, mining, and fishing; although movement thereafter was restricted by the quota system, another 12,000 individuals came in the 1920s and 1930s.[4]

One of the major factors which brought Ukrainians on a larger scale than Japanese was the difference in attitude on the part of Canada towards them, although no single factor determined the nature of emigration. Japanese attitudes towards emigration, in intellectual circles at least, were generally positive, while the Austro-Hungarian government, under which Ukrainians lived, and the Ukrainian intelligentsia often saw emigration as a loss.[5] Yet Ukrainians were encouraged to come to Canada by Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior from 1896 to 1905, who wanted to populate the Canadian West with agriculturists and signed an agreement with the North Atlantic Trading Company (NATC), but the Canadian government had no official policies to attract Japanese immigrants and even restricted them. Despite these differences, severe poverty in their respective homelands and the recruiting activities of agencies were the common primary motivations for Ukrainians and Japanese to emigrate. An emigration boom occurred in both countries, fueled by population increase, rural natural disasters, lack of farm lands, and few opportunities for wage labour in the late nineteenth century. The movement was encouraged further by a number of activities by both Ukrainian and Japanese agencies. Besides the activities of the NATC to recruit potential settlers in eastern Europe, Osyp Oleskiv, a member of the Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia and professor of agriculture, visited Canada and published two recruiting pamphlets, *Pro vilni zemli (About free land)* and *O emigratsii (About emigration)* in 1895, and did much to facilitate Ukrainians' mass movement to Canada.[6] In the case of the Japanese, *imingaisha* (immigration agencies) played an important role in every stage of emigration - recruiting emigrants, taking passports, and securing jobs abroad.[7]

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[3] *Ibid.*, Series 20.24-27.

[4] Masako Iino, *Nikkei Kanadajin No Rekishi* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1997), 6.

[5] Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 65. Following the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japanese intellectuals, particularly the nationalists, who regarded emigration not only as a solution for population increase but also as Japanese expansion, published a number of articles in journals such as *Kokuminnotomo*, *Nihonjin*, and *Taiyo*, which recommended emigration; see also Patricia E. Roy, J.L. Granatstein, Masako Iino, and Hiroko

How each immigrant group created its own ethnic "community" in Canada, as well as that community's size and cohesiveness, depended initially on the nature of the emigration process and settlement patterns. Members of both Ukrainian and Japanese groups tended to come from the same areas in their homeland and settle together, which not only helped to secure immigrants' lives in the new land but also promoted ethnic identity through shared language, culture, and value systems. The great majority of both Ukrainian and Japanese immigrants were farmers from small villages. Ukrainians originated mostly from the provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna, then part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, while the Japanese heralded from Shiga, Wakayama, Hiroshima, Kumamoto, Fukuoka, and Kagoshima prefectures in western Japan. Close networks based on kinship and neighbourhood often led to chain migration which brought many individuals from the same villages, as with Nebyliv in Galicia and Mio in Wakayama. The decision to live among

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Takamura, *Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese during the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 25.

[6] For further details, see Jaroslav Petryshyn, "Sifton's Immigration Policy," in Luciuk and Hryniuk, *Canada's Ukrainians*, 17-29.

people of their own kind produced areas of Ukrainian and Japanese concentration in Canada. The first wave of Ukrainian immigrants, arriving between 1891 and 1914, established a series of bloc settlements in the aspen parkland belt of the three prairie provinces.[8] The first and largest bloc centred around the Edna-Star district in east-central Alberta; others formed at Stuartburn, Whitemouth, Interlake, Shoal Lake, and Dauphin in Manitoba, and at Yorkton, Battleford, Prince Albert, and Fish Creek in Saskatchewan. Approximately ninety percent of all Ukrainians in Canada lived in the three prairie provinces in 1921. Japanese, on the other hand, were concentrated in British Columbia, which possessed ninety-seven per cent of the entire Japanese population in Canada in 1921.[9] Mostly seasonal sojourners in the late nineteenth century, Japanese immigrants began to settle permanently with the beginning of the twentieth century. During the early 1900s, substantial urban Japanese colonies appeared in the city of Vancouver and in the fishing village of Steveston along the Fraser River, but the majority of immigrants settled on farm land in the Fraser and Okanagan valleys. The main local centres with significant numbers of Japanese were located in the lower Fraser valley: Meadows, Port Hammond, Port Haney, Whonnock, Albion, and Ruskin on the north side of the river; and Cloverdale, Langley Prairie, Surrey, Port Kells, Aldergrove, Coghlan, and Mount Lehman on the south side. The Japanese in the Okanagan valley mainly settled in Kelowna, Vernon, Okanagan Centre, and West Summerland.[10]

While the Ukrainians and Japanese voluntarily created their own clusters in which they could share their culture, language, and customs, prejudice and discrimination on the

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[7] See, for example, Takeo Moriyama, *Imingaisha: Japanese Emigration Companies and Hawaii, 1894-1908* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985).

[8] Lehr, "Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians," 30-51.

[9] Darcovich and Yuzyk, *A Statistical Compendium*, Series 20.60.

[10] Charles H. Young and Helen R.Y. Reid, *The Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1938), 55-56.

part of the host society also helped to segregate both groups physically from the rest of Canadian society and to encourage their cohesiveness. During this period, Canadian nation builders outside French Quebec strongly believed in the supremacy of British traditions and ideals in all spheres and of the Anglo-Saxon over individuals from other national and racial backgrounds. Thus, for cultural reasons, politicians saw the British as the most preferred immigrants, despite, from the perspective of prairie settlement, frequent lack of experience in agriculture. Members of other groups, particularly non-western Europeans and non-whites, whose assimilation to Anglo-Canadian standards, values, and ways, was considered problematic or impossible, had to reconcile themselves to second-class status. Although the Ukrainians and Japanese were culturally and racially quite different, they experienced somewhat similar fates as non-preferred peoples near the bottom of the social hierarchy. Their low status, inability to speak English, and unfamiliarity with British-Canadian customs all contributed to turning them inward, creating exclusive Ukrainian and Japanese communities.

Yet major differences between the Japanese and Ukrainians, which isolated the former both legally and physically from the host society, must be noted. While the Canadian government acknowledged the economic value of Ukrainians as prairie farmers, and thus encouraged them to come, it never showed any positive attitudes towards Japanese immigrants, restricting their numbers and franchise. Particularly in British Columbia, which received the great majority of so-called Orientals, politicians and ordinary citizens alike regarded the increasing number of Japanese as a serious problem. Some reasons for the difference in treatment between the Ukrainians and the Japanese can be identified. First, while Ukrainians were considered eventually assimilable as white ethnics, the Japanese were not, mainly because intermarriage between white and coloured races was unthinkable.[11] In addition to skin colour, stereotypes and the physical characteristics of Asians expressed by phrases such as "thick and stolid face" and "narrow little pig eyes"[12] created the belief that Asians were an inferior race. Second, the fact that the Japanese were concentrated around Vancouver, with their homeland within reach across the Pacific Ocean, raised fears of a "peril of yellow dominance" among British Columbian whites. Unlike the stateless Ukrainians, the Japanese were an established imperial power as a result of victory over Russia in 1905, the annexation of Korea in 1910, and later the occupation of Manchuria in 1931.[13] Finally, while most Ukrainians farmed on the prairies, many Japanese obtained jobs in urban centres at lower salaries than white Canadians, or operated small businesses in Vancouver, both of which led to complaints that they "jeopardized the economic interests of white British Columbians."[14] Although the majority of Japanese were engaged in fishing or farming, "little Tokyo" adjacent to Chinatown in Vancouver made the Japanese presence as labourers more visible.

The establishment of identifiable Ukrainian and Japanese colonies in the western provinces was only the first step in the development of ethnic communities. The founding of local distinctive ethnic institutions, which helped new immigrants practically and socially in the new country, accelerated the growth of ethnic identity and a sense of community outside mainstream structures. By the end of the 1920s, a multitude of Japanese and Ukrainian religious and secular institutions, which followed their homeland patterns, emerged at the local level. Ukrainians established *narodni domy* (community halls) for the preservation of Ukrainian culture, which had developed as *chytalni* (reading clubs) in Galicia and Bukovyna, while the Japanese established *kenjinkai* (countrymen's clubs), which promoted co-operation among fellow immigrants from the same region. The first Ukrainian reading club was organized in Winnipeg in 1899, and over the first three decades of the twentieth century many others appeared in both prairie cities and the rural Ukrainian blocs.[15] The Japanese *kenjinkai* existed mainly in Vancouver; the first to be formed was the Hiroshima *kenjinkai* in 1902, followed by the Shiga *kenjinkai* in 1905.[16] Most of their activities were confined to British Columbia.

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[11] W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 102.

[12] Hilda Glynn-Ward, *The Writing On The Wall* (1921; reprint, with an introduction by Patricia E. Roy, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 23 (page citations are to the reprint edition). For the stereotypes of Asians prevailing in the early 1900s, see also Agnes C. Laut, *The Canadian Commonwealth* (Chautauqua: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1915), 127-137; and James S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates or Coming Canadians* (1909; reprint with an introduction by Marilyn Barber, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 141-156.

[13] Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 100.

[14] *Ibid.*, 130.

Despite similar roles as the first formal non-religious institutions to draw their respective peoples together, the different functions of Japanese *kenjinkai* and the Ukrainian *narodni domy* made *kenjinkai* more unified than *narodni domy*. The difference resulted mainly from the way in which these institutions evolved in Canada and the nature of their respective immigrant sources. While *narodni domy* developed as institutions to nurture Ukrainian national consciousness, *kenjinkai* were organized more naturally for mutual assistance, especially in economic life, based on already established Japanese regional identities. Another striking difference concerned the target audiences. While *narodni domy* tended to be meeting places open to all members of the group to be educated or enlightened around national goals, the *kenjinkai*, in contrast, functioned somewhat like family units, which connected people from the same prefectures in Japan.[17] This characteristic of the *kenjinkai* was perhaps rooted in old Japanese regional ties established by the feudal system within the *han* (clan) before the modernization of Japan under Meiji Emperor in 1868.

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[15] See, for example, Andrij Makuch, "Narodni Domy in East Central Alberta," in *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians*, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1988), 202-210.

[16] Iino, *Nikkei KanadajinNo Rekishi*, 15.

While the *ken* replaced the *han* in 1871 as an official district governed by a state authority, it was still supported by strong fellowship in the region. Therefore, *kenjinkai* had more cohesiveness than Ukrainian halls, which drew their participants from not only different villages but also different districts and provinces in Austria-Hungary.

While the early establishment of ethnic societies at the local level depended on the initiative of individuals who were often but not always more highly educated or economically better off than other immigrants, the concept of creating a pan-Ukrainian or a pan-Japanese identity and community emerged from a rising middle-class of often younger people. Ambitious and activist individuals, who received their education in the homeland or in Canada, and became more upwardly mobile than other immigrants, acquired influential occupations such as newspaper editors, businessmen, and teachers. They also created their own ethnic bases in Canada, particularly in Winnipeg (Ukrainians) and Vancouver (Japanese). Because they were familiar with the political situation in both Canada and the homeland and were somewhat comfortable in Canadian society, this crystallizing elite had status and was able to mould immigrants, including teaching their people "proper" behaviour in the new land. Some major differences between the Japanese and Ukrainians in the formation of an elite, and the subsequent development of organized activities, however, can be seen in their relations with Canada and their respective homelands.

First, different homeland situations created a gap between the two groups regarding the role that the ethnic elite played. Because of Ukrainians' statelessness in Europe, the emergence of a Ukrainian elite in Canada reflected conflicting visions of identity and national awakening, but the evolution of a Japanese elite was not always tied to national consciousness as Japan had already become a world player. During the pre-World War I

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[17] For details of *kenjinkai*, see Jinjiro Nakayama, *Nikkeiimin Shiryoshu*, vol. 10, *Zaibei Nihonjinshi* (1922; reprint, Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Senta, 1994), 1607-1643.

period, Ukrainian activists were divided into nationalists and socialists.[18] Only the worker-oriented socialist movement, which started around 1907, existed as a national network, while nationalist activities focused around the Ruthenian Training School for bilingual teachers established by the Manitoba government, the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, and the newspaper, *Ukrainskyi holos* (*Ukrainian voice*) launched in 1910 by the bilingual teachers. Their primary goals were economic independence and cultural retention by Ukrainians in Canada. The Japanese, on the other hand, arrived in Canada as members of an established national community. The Japanese immigrant intelligentsia, more or less, had a clear and consensual vision of Japanese identity and were not ideologically divided over homeland issues. Therefore, they were able to focus on the cultural and economic well-being of Japanese immigrants in Canada without distractions, and became, in effect, their protectors. They launched their activities around cultural institutions such as the *nihonjinkai* (Canadian Japanese Association) in Vancouver (1897) which began to publish *Tairiku Nippo* (*Continental daily*) in 1907. In addition, farmer and fisher cooperatives all over British Columbia, such as the Fraser River Japanese Fishermen's Co-operative (1900), which spoke out against the restriction of Japanese fishing licenses imposed in 1898, worked for more specific occupational goals.[19] Two *nihonjinkai* also opened in Calgary in 1909 and Raymond in 1914 in Alberta. Although their activities met with limited success, they represented an organized movement to unite the Japanese and to fight against escalating anti-Japanese sentiment before the Great War.

The second difference between the Japanese and Ukrainian elites concerns their relationship with Canadian politics, which affected their recognition and role as the representatives of their respective ethnic groups. Ukrainian leaders during the early 1900s, for example, were indirectly connected to mainstream politics through the Liberal and Conservative parties, which required intermediaries between rural immigrants and themselves, particularly for vote-catching. The role of "party agents" often meshed with the self-interest of individuals who sought political vehicles during the early stages of Ukrainian life in Canada, and gave them a first step in Canadian political life.[20] Although the Japanese immigrant intelligentsia had no connection with Canadian political parties without the franchise, it was tied to the Canadian government through the Consulate of Japan, first opened in Vancouver in 1889, followed by Montreal in 1902, and its members were often regarded as Japanese delegates under Japan's authority.[21] Because the primary goal of the consuls was to keep good trade relations between Japan and Canada, they urged the Japanese intelligentsia to improve the image of the Japanese community in Canada. As intermediators between the consuls (who were not always familiar with the general living conditions of the Japanese)[22] and the grassroots, some active individuals gained a certain fame. Diplomatic relations between Japan and the British empire sometimes strengthened the status of the Japanese elite as international allies. An obvious example was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, a military agreement between Japan and Britain against Russian expansion.

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[18] For a detailed discussion of mobilizing the Ukrainian grassroots, see Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 155-308; and Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 143-182.

[19] Iino, *Nikkei Kanadajin No Rekishi*, 17.

The 1920s and 1930s saw a dramatic increase in both Ukrainian and Japanese organizations at the national or provincial level, under the impetus of ethnic leaders increasingly acting as the self-appointed representatives of their peoples. The emergence of these larger organizations beyond the local scene is crucial on two grounds. First, it symbolized the psychological crystallization and politicization of ethnic communities as Canadian and/or international phenomena with definite causes and specific programs. Second, it reflected sharpening internal divisions within each of the Ukrainian and Japanese groups, as ideological factions propagandized and expanded their activities to win converts. The major ideological division among the Ukrainians - between nationalists and communists - solidified in the 1920s, after the collapse of the Ukrainian National Republic and the establishment of the Soviet Union. The pro-communist Ukrainians worked to protect immigrants' working conditions, fought against the exploitation of labourers in Canada, and supported the Soviet Union; they established the first nation-wide Ukrainian organization, the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association in 1918. The nationalists, on the other hand, were dedicated to Ukrainian independence in Europe and the retention of their Ukrainian consciousness and culture in Canada, although internal divisions produced three rival organizations: the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (1927), formed by old immigrants and backers of the new Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (1918); and the monarchist United Hetman Organization (1924) and republican right-wing Ukrainian National Federation (1932), both emerging from interwar émigré circles.[23] Both pro-communists and nationalists launched various kinds of educational and cultural activities to attract the grassroots' attention, absorbing many local *narodni domy* through which people received their political messages. For example, the ULFTA was particularly

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[20] For a detailed discussion, see Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 155-181.

[21] The British Columbia government disenfranchised the Japanese, both naturalized and Canadian born, in 1895. In 1902, the Japanese were denied the vote in every election in British Columbia: federal, provincial, municipal, school board; World War I veterans gained the vote in 1931. Yoko Urata Nakahara, "Ethnic Identity Among Japanese Canadians In Edmonton: The Case of Pre-World War II Immigrants And Their Descendants" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1991), 11.

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[22] Iino, *Nikkei Kanadajin No Rekishi*, 13.

[23] See, for example, Ol'ha Woycenko, "Community Organizations," in *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 173-194; Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, 2d ed. (Winnipeg and Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1982), 395-410; Oleh Gerus, "Consolidating the Community: The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League," in Luciuk and Hryniuk, *Canada's Ukrainians*, 157-186; and Orest T. Martynowych, "Introduction," in *Prophets and Proletarians: Documents on the History of the Rise and Decline of Ukrainian Communism in Canada*, ed. and trans. John Kolasky (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1990), xv-xxviii.

influential in the bloc settlement in Alberta, which had many more ULFTA halls than the other prairie provinces by 1940.[24]

Unlike the Ukrainians, whose conflicting attitudes towards the homeland created ideological divisions, the primary division among the Japanese occurred in the 1930s between the *issei* (first generation) and the *nisei* (second generation), as the number of Canadian born increased. While nation-wide Japanese organizations did not appear until the post-World War II period, some provincial organizations were established (by both *issei* and *nisei*) which regarded themselves as the voice of "all Japanese" and reflected the group's heavy concentration in British Columbia. Both *issei* and *nisei* were mainly concerned with racial prejudice against the Japanese in Canada. Their approach to Japan, however, was quite different. The *issei* respected their homeland, remained loyal to the Japanese emperor, and tried to maintain their own cultural values, introducing programs such as bilingual education for the Japanese around a reorganized Canadian Japanese Association in the 1930s. The *nisei*, whose homeland was nowhere but Canada, yet who were excluded from Canadian society because of their racial background, focused on demonstrating their loyalty to Canada, lobbying for the franchise, and promoting good relations between Japanese and other Canadians.[25] British Columbian whites, for their part, became increasingly cautious of the *nisei*, who started to insist on Japanese political rights in Canada. The *nisei* were in fact more militant than the *issei*, launching their own activities to fight against discrimination in Canada and to detach themselves from Japanese traditions. They established the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League in 1936 and their own organ, the *New Canadian*, in 1939.[26]

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[24] On the expansion of the ULFTA halls, see, for example, Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, *Ukrainians in Alberta* (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, 1975), 149-180; and Robitnycho-farmerske vydavnyche tovarystvo, *Almanakh TURFDim, 1918-1929* (Winnipeg: Robitnycho-farmerske vydavnyche tovarystvo, 1930).

[25] Young and Reid, *Japanese Canadians*, 110.

While ethnic communities developed with the leadership of secular ethnic elites and organizations, religion also influenced the identity of the Ukrainians and Japanese. As minority immigrant groups, both initially confronted the absence of their own faiths and religious institutions in Canada. Also, Protestant missions tied to an Anglo-Canadian sense of superiority sought to proselytize and to enlighten non-British immigrants, while Roman Catholicism tied to French consciousness tried to win converts to ensure French cultural survival, particularly in the West.[27] Religious activities stimulated by mainstream political concerns often prevented or hindered the development of Ukrainian and Japanese religious faiths and institutions. For example, while most Ukrainians were Greek Catholic or Orthodox, the establishment of an independent Greek Catholic Church under an Eastern-rite bishop was hindered by the French Latin-rite Catholic archbishop, Adélard Langevin, until 1912. Similarly, the construction of Japanese Buddhist or Shinto institutions, which provided Asians a strong base in British Columbia, appeared to be offensive to white Canadians; the first Buddhist temple was not officially recognized until 1907.[28] Protestantism and Roman Catholicism succeeded, to some extent, in expanding their faiths among Ukrainians and Japanese, even if for practical rather than spiritual reasons, filling a religious vacuum during the early years.

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[26] Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 166.

[27] Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 155; see also Andrii Krawchuk, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Francophone Missionaries among Ukrainian Catholics," in Luciuk and Hryniuk, *Canada's Ukrainians*, 206-217. On Anglican missions in western Canada, see, for example, Barry Ferguson, ed., *The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1991). On United Church activities, see Dennis L. Butcher, ed., *PrairieSpirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985).

[28] Charles P. Anderson, Trithankar Bose, and Joseph I. Richardson, *Circle of Voices: A History of the Religious Communities of British Columbia* (Lantzville: oolichan books, 1983), 29.

The desire to maintain their own religious faiths, however, was strong among the Ukrainians and Japanese, who established independent religious institutions at both elite and grassroots levels. The emergence of independent churches or temples suggests that the Ukrainians and Japanese saw organized religion as important not only spiritually but also politically and practically. Indeed, both groups became dissatisfied with religions controlled by foreign groups and favoured their familiar ritual and retention of their culture instead. The Ukrainian nationalist intelligentsia, for example, opposed the Latinization of Greek Catholicism, the appointment of foreign priests, and the incorporation of church property with the Latin-rite bishop. At the grassroots level, Roman Catholic priests did not always meet Ukrainian secular cultural and educational needs such as supporting reading clubs and drama circles.[29] Such situations turned some Greek Catholics to Russian Orthodoxy, whose missionaries were familiar with the Ukrainian language and culture and followed the Eastern-rite. Those members of the Ukrainian nationalist intelligentsia who established the independent Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church often tied religion to their secular nationalistic agenda and the retention of Ukrainian identity, and they criticized the policies of the Greek Catholic bishop, Nykyta Budka, who was part of a centralized church hierarchy. During the 1920s and 1930s both Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Greek Orthodox churches defended, reinforced, and promoted Ukrainian ethnoreligious consciousness. In 1931, 58.0 per cent of all Ukrainians identified with the Greek Catholic faith, while 24.6 per cent reported themselves as Ukrainian Greek Orthodox.[30] The Japanese *issei*, in contrast, saw the loss of traditional Japanese religion and attendant cultural values among the *nisei* as problematic. They also felt that Christianity did not satisfy the Japanese ethical code, which admitted Japanese superiority to other races and emphasized "obedience to the Emperor, the teacher, and the parents."[31] The desire to keep Buddhism and their beliefs led to the establishment of the first temple in the city of Vancouver in 1905 under Sasaki Senju, a temporary priest from Japan. The largest temple, the Hompa Canada Buddhist Temple, was built in 1910 also in Vancouver. The development of Buddhist institutions largely relied on the donations and activities of Japanese associations, such as the Buddhist Women's Organization (1913) and the Buddhist Youth Association (1915), which were eager to maintain Japanese culture and religious rituals. By the 1930s the Buddhist temple had five missions and six branches served by Japanese priests, and twenty-eight associations organized by secular priests.[32]

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[29] Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 186, 197.

[30] Paul Yuzyk, "Religious Life," in Lupul, *A Heritage in Transition*, 166.

Although both Ukrainians and Japanese regarded religion as an important part of their ethnic identity, a major difference between them can be identified. The Japanese produced more proselytes than the Ukrainians. In 1939, when about eighty per cent of Ukrainians still identified with their traditional faiths, Greek Catholicism or Orthodoxy, approximately one-third of all Japanese in Canada reported themselves as Christians.[33] In addition, despite the fact that Buddhism was strongly tied to Japanese identity, Buddhism itself was to some degree Canadianized and Christianized, as seen in practices like Sunday school and English night school, and in buildings called churches not temples. As the second generation increased, however, Buddhism lost its popularity among the Japanese.[34] This occurred partly because of the pragmatic nature of the Japanese, which allowed them to select elements from several religious faiths.[35] However, it is also true that the *nisei*, who sought to detach themselves from the *issei* Japanese community, had mixed feelings towards remaining Buddhists, despite the successful implanting of Buddhism in British Columbia. Because the Japanese tended to look on Christianity as a symbol of Western civilization after the modernization of Japan, conversion provided a way not only to be Canadian, but also to create a different identity from the Buddhist *issei*.[36]

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[31] Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, 113.

[32] *Nikkeiimin Shiryoshu*, 1285-1288; also see, Yasuo Izumi, "Buddhists in British Columbia," in Anderson, Bose, and Richardson, *Circle of Voices*, 27-33.

[33] Young and Reid, *Japanese Canadians*, 101; and Darcovich and Yuzyk, *A Statistical Compendium*, Series 30.1-12.

[34] Christianity gained converts especially in urban centres, while rural Japanese tended to remain Buddhists. See Peter Takaji Nunoda, "A Community In Transition And Conflict: The Japanese Canadians, 1935-1951" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, 1991), 42.

While Ukrainian and Japanese elites in urban centres engaged in propaganda and related activities, the grassroots were generally ignorant of the complicated larger politics they represented. For rural settlers in the prairie provinces the immediate problems of everyday life on the frontier tended to be more important. Yet they also possessed an ethnic consciousness, strengthened by elite activities such as sending speakers and distributing newspapers; a sense of difference emerging from contacts with peoples in their neighbourhood; and the natural retention of their own languages and customs in Japanese and Ukrainian settlement clusters. The Japanese on the prairies, however, tended to be marginal first in terms of the larger Japanese-Canadian community, because of their remoteness from the majority of their fellow countrymen in British Columbia, and second due to their small population. At the same time, their numerical weakness, and being surrounded by others, made them conscious of their ethnic and racial origins. The Ukrainians who were concentrated on the prairies, on the other hand, could easily maintain their culture and language, and constantly reinforce their ethnic identity, through daily interaction with their neighbours and organized Ukrainian activities.

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[35] Norman Knowles, for example, argues that overemphasis on the desire of the Japanese to assimilate hides important practical reasons for conversion to Christianity, such as the role of churches as day care centres and as meeting places for those who did not have *kenjinkai*. See Norman Knowles, "Religious Affiliation, Demographic Change and Family Formation among British Columbia's Chinese and Japanese Communities: A Case Study of Church of England Missions, 1861-1942," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 27, no. 2 (1995): 59-80.

[36] On the desire for assimilation, see Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, 111.

The Ukrainian and Japanese farmers who settled in Alberta present a good example of how difference in type of settlement and numbers affected their formation of ethnic consciousness. The Ukrainians, for their part, were marked by a high degree of cohesiveness and geographical focus. As one of the major destinations for Ukrainian immigrants, the province of Alberta was home to twenty-five per cent of all Ukrainians in Canada by 1931.[37] The large Edna-Star colony, beginning modestly in 1892, had expanded to Slawa and Smoky Lake in the north and east, and Mundare and Vegreville in the west and south by 1914, while a smaller settlement appeared south of Edmonton near Leduc.[38] The church was usually the first institution around which people gathered. Initially, Russian Orthodoxy attracted many Ukrainians because of its familiar religious practices and language, and it remained popular in Bukovynian areas. The Greek Catholic church, centred in Mundare, was the strongest denomination, establishing forty churches by 1918 and employing twenty-five priests by 1940. The new Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church expanded in the bloc during the 1920s, with strong centres in points like Smoky Lake, Vilna, and Bellis.[39] The Japanese settlements, in contrast, were far less substantial, and the Japanese in Alberta constituted only two per cent of all Japanese in Canada in 1931.[40] In addition, those Japanese who first came to Alberta - such as miners at Hardieville near Lethbridge, and farmers employed by sugar companies at Raymond –

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[37] Darcovich and Yuzyk, *A Statistical Compendium*, Series 20.40-62.

[38] Orest Martynowych, "The Ukrainian Block Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930," in Lupul, *Continuity and Change*, 30; and Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainians in Alberta," in *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity*, ed. Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), 218.

[39] On the distribution and expansion of churches in the Ukrainian bloc, see, for example, Martynowych, "Ukrainian Block Settlement in East Central Alberta," 30-59; Timothy C. Byrne, "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta," (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1937), 57; and Larissa Marie Kotowich Sawiak, "Ethnic Retention and Community Formation in East Central Alberta," (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1998), 24-39.

[40] Darcovich and Yuzyk, *A Statistical Compendium*, Series 20.40-62.

were contract labourers and did not settle permanently in the province.[41] Although some of them bought farm lands and created a distinctive Japanese colony near Raymond, they had little impact on the Japanese-Canadian community until large numbers of Japanese were relocated to southern Alberta from British Columbia during World War II. Their institutional activities were also limited: the only Buddhist church constructed in Alberta before World War II was in Raymond in 1929.[42] Yet unlike the Ukrainians who established highly homogeneous colonies, the Japanese often became conscious of their ethnicity by meeting others in settlements where no single ethnic group constituted a majority.

The Opal/Maybridge area, which lies in east-central Alberta approximately seventy-two kilometres northeast of Edmonton, developed as a small rural multiethnic settlement. The physical community-building process in the district followed the three general phases which frontier settlements took: settlement, the construction of institutions by both government and settlers, and development as a railway point.[43] Settlement in the district started in the late nineteenth century and peaked with the construction of the Northern Alberta Railway in 1913. In 1895, fertile soil and a plentiful water supply on the north side of the North Saskatchewan River first attracted a British family to the Amelia district, some sixteen kilometres southeast of what became Opal.[44] This family was joined by other British and some Ukrainian settlers, who crossed the river in 1896. After the government completed its land survey in 1906 and opened the area for homesteading, it received many people, beginning with the British and Poles. The railway brought many more immigrants - Ukrainian, Russian, French, and Japanese - who changed the ethnic balance and laid the basis for a multiethnic community.[45] By the 1920s, there were about seven Japanese families in the area. The homestead map of 1927 points to a certain degree of residential segregation by ethnicity in the Opal/Maybridge settlement, resulting mainly from the order in which ethnic groups entered the area and the way in which they chose lands (Figure 1).[46] In general, settlement expanded east of Opal rather than west. The British people who came first tended to concentrate in the eastern area around the railway siding at Opal, rather than farther north or west, as they chose to be closer to the populated area. By 1927, some British families owned a half section of land or more, although many others still had only the original homestead quarter. While the Japanese families were among the last to settle in the district, they were nevertheless concentrated around the railway stop in the western part, primarily because they bought lands at auction. Ukrainians, who constituted approximately forty percent of the total population at Opal in 1931, settled relatively far to the north and east of the railway siding for two reasons.[47] First, this area marked the western edge of the Ukrainian bloc and Ukrainian newcomers seemed to want lands surrounded by their compatriots or relatives. Second, Ukrainians basically obtained homesteads, and thus had to choose unoccupied land.

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[41] Ann Sunahara and David Sunahara, "The Japanese in Alberta," in Palmer and Palmer, *Peoples of Alberta*, 396.

[42] *Ibid.*, 400.

[43] John W. Bennett and Seena B. Kohl, *Settling the Canadian-American West, 1890-1915: Pioneer Adaptation and Community Building* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 115.

[44] Audrey Hrynchuk and Jean Klufas, eds., *Memories: Redwater and District* (Calgary: D. W. Friesen and Sons Ltd., 1972), 1.

The twelve Japanese families at Opal/Maybridge were unique elements even in Alberta, where the largest Japanese concentration was in the south around Raymond. While most of them used to work or own small businesses in Edmonton or Calgary, and while incentives to move were quite various, their ultimate decision to start farming in the district depended greatly on two factors. One was their experience with farming in Japan, the other the leadership role of Toyomatsu Kimura, who bought land at Maybridge around 1912 and initiated the Japanese movement to the area. Although they did not all obtain their land at the same time, each family was somehow acquainted with the rest before coming to Opal - in Edmonton or even in Japan despite originating in different prefectures. Toyomatsu Kimura, for example, had been acquainted with the Nakamuras prior to emigration, as the family used to be hired by the Kimuras in Japan.[48] Also, while he earned money working as a barber in Edmonton, Toyomatsu Kimura needed someone to take care of his land, so he brought his nephew Masashige Kimura and brother Tomoichi Kimura to Maybridge. Another family, the Yamauchis, who were looking for work and met Toyomatsu Kimura in Edmonton, rented his land in Maybridge. The Saito and Watanabe families lived on the same avenue in Edmonton during the years approximately between 1921 and 1925. Toyomatsu Kimura rented his land to many Japanese families and himself moved to the farm only in 1927. The last family to move to Opal was the Kiyookas, who knew the Watanabes in Calgary, and bought land from the Yamauchis in 1941.

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[45] By 1936, the Opal/Maybridge district had 3318 people. The ethnic composition in 1936 was as follows: Ukrainian, 1451, 44%; British, 595, 18%; French, 521, 16%; Poles, 511, 15%; Japanese, 27, 8%. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Quinquennial Census of the Prairie Provinces* (Ottawa, 1936).

[46] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Cummins Rural Directory Maps for Alberta, Cummins Map Company, 1927.

[47] Martynowych, "Ukrainian Block Settlement in East Central Alberta," 53.

With the construction of the railway and influx of settlers, another phase of community building began. Local public institutions such as schools and a post office appeared mainly in the 1910s, creating geographical community boundaries in the area. In 1913 Opal became a school district and in 1916 acquired a post office near the railway siding. Maybridge, located a few kilometres southeast of Opal along the Athabasca Landing Trail, was organized as a separate school district in 1915, but otherwise shared local institutions with Opal. Opal and Maybridge were surrounded by other rural school districts such as Waugh, Eastgate, Egremont, Redwater, and Trenchville. In general, unlike the nearby Amelia district, the land around Opal/Maybridge was less suited to agriculture, located as it was in the aspen parkland "bush country." The settlers usually engaged in mixed farming, raising both crops and livestock such as chickens, cows, and hogs. Just like many other settlements on the frontier, farmers produced only for themselves at first and gradually moved into commercial farming. Some homesteaders also bought additional quarter sections around them.

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[48] James Kimura, "Life and Times of a Young Japanese Immigrant," unpublished memoirs, n.d., personal collection of Chizuko Kimura.

While government institutions and services opened the area to mainstream Canadian influences, voluntary religious and secular organizations played an important role in building bridges to the larger ethnic communities to which the settlers belonged. The first church in the area, located southeast of the future railway stop, was a Presbyterian church built in 1911 through the monetary donations and volunteer labour of local British settlers.[49] A Roman Catholic church appeared next, built in 1915 by Polish families on land north of the railway stop. A Russo-Greek Orthodox Church, constructed by Russians and Ukrainians in 1912, was located a few kilometres north of the railway in the Eastgate district; by 1916 twenty-two families attended, although the absence of a local priest during the early period meant that services were held irregularly.[50] Because of the large Ukrainian population in the area, their own churches also appeared; the closest Greek Catholic churches were in Egremont (1922) and Waugh (1904, with a new building in 1939).[51] Holy Trinity Ukrainian Greek Orthodox parish was organized in 1925, situated just southeast of Redwater, and another Ukrainian Orthodox church was built in Egremont in

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[49] Hrynchuk and Klufas, *Memories: Redwater and District*, 52.

[50] *Ibid.*, 5; also see Russian Orthodox Church History Book Committee, *Patriarchal Parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada, 998-1988* (Edmonton: Friesen Printers, 1988), 55-56.

[51] Episkopskyi ordynariiat, *Propamiatna knyha z nahody zolotoho iuvileiu poselennia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1941* (Yorkton: Episkopskyi ordynariiat, 1941), 254, 257.

1926.[52] Although most local Japanese families in Opal/Maybridge were affiliated with Shintoism or Buddhism, there was no Buddhist church or Shinto shrine in the area. In fact, it was not until the 1950s that the first Buddhist missionaries visited the Opal/Maybridge area. Some local Japanese, in the interim, had become Christian. Although other ethnic groups, including the Japanese, had no formal secular institutions at Opal/Maybridge, Ukrainians built a *narodnyi dim* in Opal in 1919, naming it after the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko.[53] It often held lectures and social events such as readings and plays, and became a cultural and political centre for local Ukrainians.

The 1920s and 1930s were perhaps the most prosperous years in the history of Opal/Maybridge, as the area became incorporated into the larger Canadian economic system. Opal, particularly, benefited as a point on the Northern Alberta Railway line, which connected Edmonton with small northern centres such as Egremont, Thorhild, Abee, and Lac La Biche (Figure 2). There were two stores in Opal, both run by the Polish Wachowich family: Peter owned the general store, his brother Philip the hardware. Philip Wachowich subsequently expanded his business as a machinery dealer in surrounding centres such as Waugh, Thorhild, Egremont, Coronado, and Redwater. There were also the grain elevators, a hotel, a gasoline station, and a custom chopper which was once run by the Japanese Nishimoto family.[54] During this time, as farmers moved from subsistence to commercial farming, the railway stop operated as the focal point of the local economy, transporting agricultural products. Because Opal was relatively close to Edmonton, the arrival of the railway often brought settlers to the city for business, shopping or pleasure -

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[52] Konsystoriia Ukrainskoi hreko-pravoslavnoi tserkvy v Kanadi, *Zbirnyk materiialiv z nahody iuvileinoho roku: 50-littia Ukrainskoi hreko-pravoslavnoi tserkvy v Kanadi, 1918-1968* (Winnipeg: Konsystoriia Ukrainskoi hreko-pravoslavnoi tserkvy v Kanadi, 1968), 74-76, 107-108.

[53] Josie Stepchuk, "The Social Development of the Immigrant Settlement of Opal, Alberta, 1900-1939", unpublished memoirs, n.d., personal collection of Josie Stepchuk.

[54] Hrynchuk and Klufas, *Memories: Redwater and District*, 20.

to interact with mainstream society on social and cultural as well as economic levels. Local merchants like the Wachowichs whose business prospered also started to acquire material goods such as electricity, a truck, and a radio, and gained a reputation for leadership and generosity by lending local farmers these luxuries.[55] Opal, however, remained small compared to the larger towns and villages in the Ukrainian bloc, like Fort Saskatchewan, Vegreville, Vermilion, and Lamont, which developed as commercial centres with varied businesses and services, particularly after the wheat boom in the 1920s. Larger economic, educational, and medical facilities did not appear at Opal, which never acquired village status and remained in essence an unincorporated rural community. The construction of the Canadian Northern Railway (later Canadian National Railways) line through the northern part of the Ukrainian bloc between 1917 and 1920 created competing economic points in neighbouring places like Redwater and excluded Opal from the main east-west route. In 1919 the Canadian Bank of Commerce established branches at Waskatenau, Gibbons, and Redwater. Hospitals were also built in Radway, Smoky Lake, Vilna and St. Paul.[56] The Opal/Maybridge district thus remained relatively small scale until the discovery of oil in Redwater by Imperial Oil in 1948, which attracted a large influx of people during a short period, and completely relocated economic activity from other surrounding centres, including Opal/Maybridge, to Redwater.

During the interwar period, the Ukrainian and Japanese farm families in Opal/Maybridge belonged to at least two kinds of new communities. The first kind was as part of larger ethnic communities that at one level developed around urban secular and religious elites and the organizations they founded. At another level they depended and built on the grassroots who settled among their own kind and maintained important aspects of their familiar way of life. The second kind was as part of a close-knit society rooted in the Opal/ Maybridge district itself and representing the crystallization of a common "prairie" identity erected on the interaction between Ukrainians and Japanese in their local context. The emergence of and interplay between two contradicting communities played an important role in the formation of identity of the Opal/Maybridge Ukrainians and Japanese.

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[55] Allan Wachowich, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 16 November 1998.

[56] Hrynchuk and Klufas, *Memories: Redwater and District*, 21.

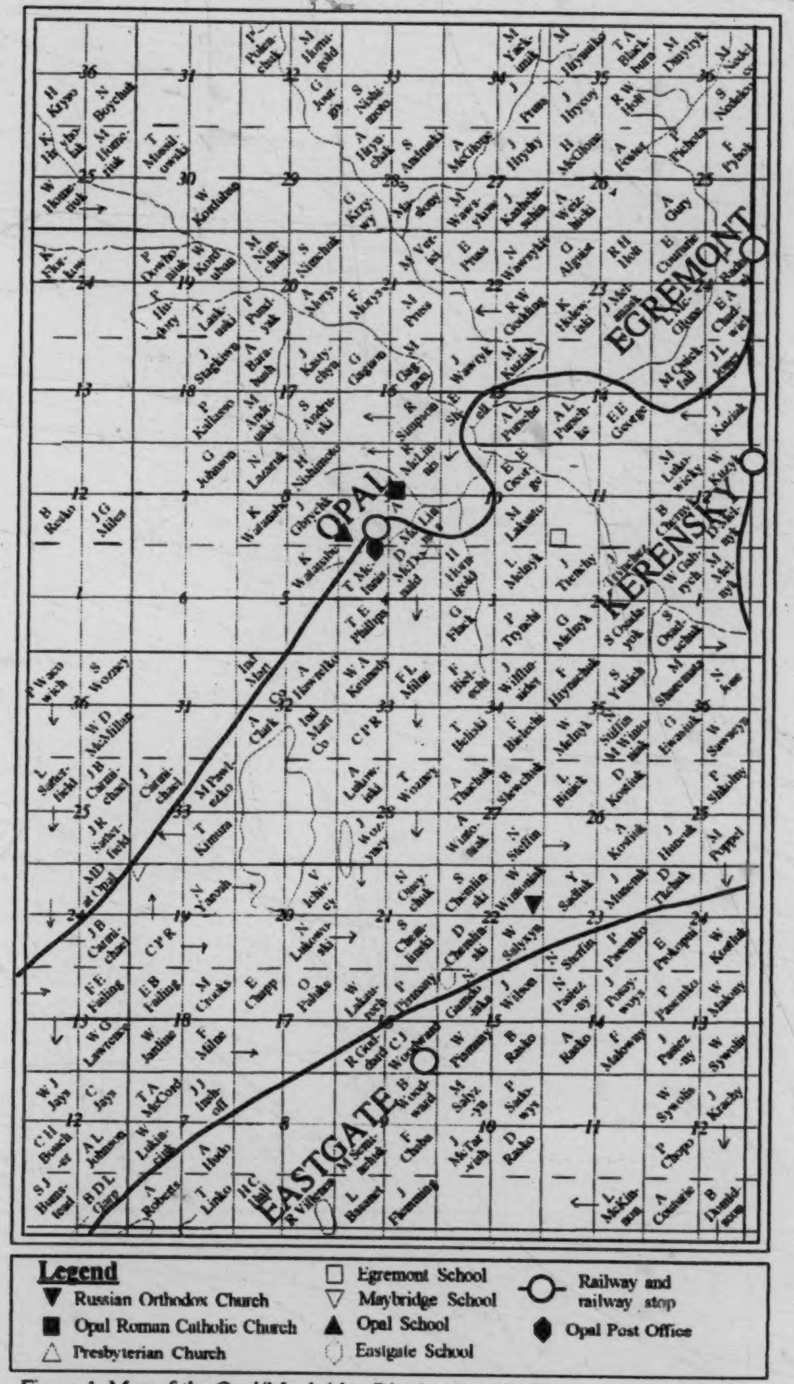
EGREMONT
OPAL
KERENSKY
EASTGATE
CPR
Legend
▼ Russian Orthodox Church
■ Opal Roman Catholic Church
△ Presbyterian Church
☐ Egremont School
▽ Maybridge School
▲ Opal School
⬡ Eastgate School
○ Railway and railway stop
⬢ Opal Post Office

Figure 1. Map of the Opal/Maybridge District (modified from Cummins Rural Directory Maps for Alberta, 1927)

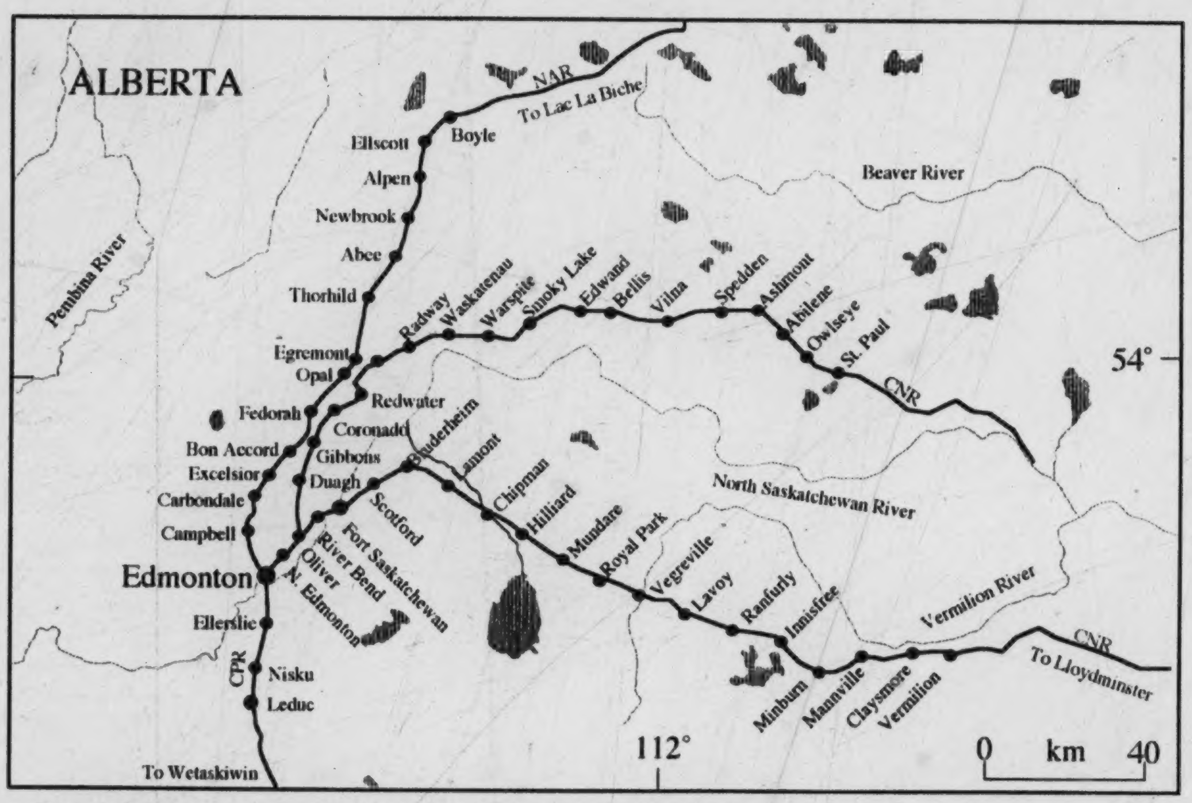
ALBERTA
Pembina River
NAR
To Lac La Biche
Boyle
Ellscott
Alpen
Newbrook
Abee
Thorhild
Beaver River
Radway
Waskatenau
Warspite
Smoky Lake
Edward
Bellis
Vilna
Spedden
Ashmont
Abilene
Owlseye
St. Paul
CNR
54°
Egremont
Opal
Redwater
Fedorah
Coronado
Bruderheim
Lamont
Bon Accord
Gibbons
Excelsior
Duagh
Carbondale
Campbell
Scotford
Chipman
Hilliard
Mundare
Royal Park
Vegreville
Lavoy
Ranfurly
Innisfree
North Saskatchewan River
Edmonton
Oliver
River Bend
Fort Saskatchewan
N. Edmonton
Ellerslie
CPR
Nisku
Leduc
To Wetaskiwin
Minburn
Mannville
Claysmore
Vermilion
Vermilion River
CNR
To Lloydminster
112°
0 km 40

Figure 2. Railway and Towns around Opal/Maybridge, 1921 (modified from Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991, Map 9)

Chapter 3
The Formation of Local Community and Ethnicity: Ukrainian-Japanese Relations in Opal/Maybridge

Opal/Maybridge emerged as a local "community" during the 1920s and 1930s. Initially, Ukrainian and Japanese immigrants did not have any common factor with which to create a sense of unity, entering the area as they did from two such different places of the world at different times. The only network members of each group possessed on arrival was provided by relatives or friends, sharing the same language and culture, who usually had settled earlier and invited them to come. Once they started their new lives, however, they developed more general cooperative networks in order to adjust to the new environment and circumstances. In the process, settlers of the district became socially, economically and even psychologically united despite initial and often enduring cultural, racial, linguistic, and religious differences. The good relations among them are expressed well by an episode that saw Ukrainian and Japanese neighbours conversing in different languages without understanding each other, but having tea, laughing, and making *origami* (paper ornaments).[1] Factors such as severe weather, the need to clear the land, the lack of farm equipment, isolation from other parts of Alberta, and finally the construction of a railway, churches and a school all helped make this settlement "imaginable" as a close-knit society.[2] At the same time, attachment to a specific place developed through contacts with surrounding centres, as settlers began to define their settlement by invisible geographical boundaries and distinguishing themselves from others.

The principal goal of this chapter is to demonstrate how people established a sense of unity or "community" based on locality and crossing ethnic and/or religious lines.

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[1] John Hawrelko, interview by author, tape recording, Redwater, AB, 9 July 1998.

[2] For a discussion of how "community" can be imagined, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev.ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

Ethnicity and religion, to some extent, decreased in importance in coalescing community life, not only because imported cultural traditions were transformed in the new setting, but also because these differences among Ukrainian and Japanese settlers did not affect their relationship. Two levels of interaction, which became the basis of community building, can be identified: informal or private exchanges through circles of neighbours and friends, and mingling through formal or public events and gatherings. This distinction between unstructured and structured interchanges is important for two main reasons. First, the former usually occurred out of necessity while the latter often relied on an artificial setting, which means that settlers gradually expanded the bonds among themselves, moving from contacts for survival to interaction for social entertainment. Second, divisive forces such as language, religious faith, cultural traditions and residential segregation along ethnic lines did not always play the same role in private and public spheres, and their significance varied with both the type of interaction and stage of settlement. Any understanding of local identity, therefore, must take into account the specific conditions affecting the impact of these divisive forces on the community-building process. This chapter relies on interviews with Ukrainian and Japanese individuals, mainly from the second generation, who lived in Opal/Maybridge during the period between 1919 and 1945. Oral history, particularly childhood memories, can be problematic because people tend to filter past events through their subsequent experiences, to romanticize, to let the fashions of the present influence what and how they remember. For example, informants' current standard of living and material culture can make them overemphasize the hardship on the frontier. Similarly, because of the development of multiculturalism since the 1970s, informants tend to stress only good relations among neighbours of other ethnic origins, religions and races. However, oral history provided by the people who actually lived in the area offers valuable insights in terms of identity and sentiments.[3]

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[3] For a list and brief biography of all, see the Bibliography.

Often primitive living conditions initially limited the retention of and ultimately transformed the Ukrainian and Japanese ethnic cultures as practiced in old country. Survival was the primary goal and challenge, making a certain loss of homeland heritage unavoidable. When settlers entered the Opal/Maybridge area, it was so-called bush country. The first impression of the land, shared by both Ukrainian and Japanese informants, was disappointment and shock. John Hawrelko recalls his mother's experience:

> She repeated the same story over and over again. She came into sandy hills. She left behind [in Ukraine] fruit trees, pine trees, apple trees, and cherry trees. She came over here, and she said she cried one whole year. Winter was much more severe than she was used to. There were no fruit trees here at all. The land wasn't very good. Lots of ground had to be cleared. She said, " You don't go back. You have no money to go back. You can't leave your husband here." So she said she cried one whole year. Mosquitoes, swamps, no roads - it was really a tough beginning for her. Not just for her, but for other immigrants who came here.[4]

Josie Stepchuk (née Andruski), another Ukrainian, makes the same points:

> My grandparents had a big picture for what the agent told. But when they came here, there was nothing but woods and water. They said that women cried day in and day out. Some of them brought some tools, but others didn't.[5]

Describing her parents' situation, Lucy Takahashi (née Nishimoto) indicates that the expectations of the Japanese settlers paralleled those of their Ukrainian counterparts:

> My parents expected a lot, because they expected to come here and do well until they knew it wasn't so. They weren't willing to come, I guess, my mother for sure wouldn't have come if she had known what it was just like. She had to work extremely hard, because those days Opal was all bush country - all trees. They also had animals - cows, pigs, horses, chickens, and turkeys. She had never looked at that kind of life. So it was a real hard experience for her.[6]

It is clear from such statements that the early immigrants expected much of the new land, but had not anticipated the conditions or hard physical labour, including removing the trees and stumps in order to begin farming. Most of the Ukrainian and a few of the Japanese settlers had been farmers in the old country - but their small and well-tilled plots were little preparation for farming on a quarter section of often unbroken land, coupled with severe and unfamiliar weather and poor transportation.

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[4] Hawrelko, interview.

[5] Josie Stepchuk, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 11 September 1998.

[6] Lucy Takahashi, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 6 July 1998.

Despite an inevitable focus on immediate physical survival, settlers consciously or not kept their heritage in the private sphere. Particularly in a multiethnic settlement like Opal/Maybridge, the household functioned as the primary ethnic unit and as a space where individuals could freely practice and nurture their traditions. The retention of ethnic and associated religious elements in households was particularly important because it established the identity of the second and third generations, especially during pre-school years. The first generation among both Ukrainians and Japanese transmitted significant components of its heritage - food, language, and selected cultural and religious practices - to its children both because of strong belief in the old ways in which they had grown up and because of the comforts such familiar things provided.

Ethnic food is usually regarded as an important symbol of ethnic identity. As sociologist Wsevolod W. Isajiw has argued, "Since food represents a regular activity, it relates to the entire life cycle of individuals, families, and by extension, communities."[7] The transformation of everyday diet at Opal/Maybridge because of lack of materials thus reflects immigrants' involuntary acculturation. In the rural settlement food was mostly homemade and to a great extent reflected products available locally. Homegrown vegetables such as cabbage, potatoes, carrots, beans, and lettuce, plus wild berries in season were common in those days. Each family had milking cows as well as chickens, hogs, and cattle kept for beef. These foods were preserved by canning and drying as settlers learned how to survive in winter. They also made their own butter and bread. The following comments by

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[7] Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity: Their Meaning and Significance," in *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression among Canada's Ukrainians*, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984), 126.

Allan Wachowich, of Polish-Ukrainian parentage, illustrate not only the intensive labour involved and the importance of wild game and plants but also families' self-sufficiency:

> We had a big garden at the back. We did a lot of canning. My father, of course, was working for all food he brought in - peaches, pears, and plums. We would can all that. We would go to pick blueberries, raspberries, and cranberries. They were wild. My mother canned all those. We had a pretty big garden. There were always potatoes, carrots, beans, and lettuce. They were all grown. My parents were very resourceful in that way. My father knew which mushroom was okay to eat, and which was not. On Saturday, my father would go to shoot partridges and ducks, and bring home thirteen or fourteen. Mother would use the feathers from partridges and ducks for pillows. We had milk because we had cows at the back. So my mother saved everything. She made all breads. I remember eating bread from a bakery in Edmonton once. I thought it was so good compared to my mother's bread. But now I think about it, and it was a mistake. So my mother was very resourceful. We never had soup from a can, but we always had soup. Things we had were jam from cans and peanut butter. We made all butter. There was always food on the table. The girls made cookies. We never bought cookies from the store. Girls made cakes. But I remember eating chickens more than anything else.[8]

Given the lack of time, what was available on the farm, and the need for preservation, retaining ethnic foods could seem to be difficult. Ethnic elements, however, were maintained in meals, partly because Ukrainian and Japanese immigrant women only knew the way of cooking which they learned in the homeland, and partly because people's eating habits favoured familiar diets and tastes. The immigrants' desire to recreate their food suggests that they regarded ethnic food as an important part of their lives. In some Japanese families, rice was always served as a chief dish as in Japan. A Japanese informant, Florence Shikaze (née Yamauchi), remembers that her mother made *shiruko* (red bean soup with rice cake) and a gravy-like food from *nappa* (greens), and sometimes ordered Japanese food from Vancouver.[9] Another Japanese, Chizuko Kimura, who married into the settlement after the Second World War, elaborates on the importance of Vancouver to the ethnic identity of Opal/Maybridge Japanese:

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[8] Allan Wachowich, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 16 November 1998.

[9] Florence Shikaze, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 15 June 1998.

> Trying to obtain Japanese foods was quite difficult in those days, because there was not a Japanese grocery store in Edmonton. So Mr. Sugiura, who had a fabric shop in Edmonton, got the idea of importing basic Japanese foods from a Vancouver grocery store like Furuya. So he imported rice, soy sauce, *miso*, green tea, and other Japanese foods. Other than that, they had to make their own foods.[10]

While the Japanese ordered and purchased basic ethnic foods from cities outside their immediate world, Ukrainians were able to obtain most of their needs on their farm. In Ukrainian households, *holubtsi* (cabbage rolls), *pyrohy* (dumplings), and *borshch* (beet soup) were often made, as John Hawrelko tells: "We did eat quite a lot of Ukrainian food. Mother brought over recipes from the old country."[11] For the Ukrainians and Japanese, their own foods meant nothing special outside common and normal diets when they arrived in Canada. Subsequently, however, they gradually gained significance as ethnic symbols, part of the Ukrainian and Japanese settlers' self-identity and distinguishing them from both each other and people of other origins.

Ethnic clothing was perhaps least retained in the new land, both because Ukrainian and Japanese immigrants could not bring many belongings to Canada and because garments were homemade or increasingly ordered from Eaton's catalogue. In addition, daily clothes were adapted to the frontier environment, as cold winters required extra layers of protection and physical labour on the farm made clothing simple and practical. An important consideration, especially among the second generation, was that clothing was the easiest and most visible way of demonstrating assimilation to Canadian norms – without, however, necessarily changing one's inner being. Clothes also reflected the immigrant perception of what was proper and appropriate for appearing in public, as Josie Stepchuk remembers her father going into Opal in the buggy, "all dressed up" in Canadian-style garments.[12] Florence Shikaze explains how her mother learned to make "Canadian" shirts and pants for her family out of materials which she obtained locally:

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[10] Chizuko Kimura, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 25 June 1998.

[11] Hawrelko, interview.

> My mother made it [clothing] all. Tell you the truth, he [my father] did buy her a sewing machine. I don't know how come he was able to afford to buy one, but anyway, he did. She needed trousers and pants for her boys, husband, and daughters, and she did them all. They bought wool from somebody who had some sheep. She washed it, dried it on what we used to call chicken wire. I still have a futon made of that sheep. She bought a spinning wheel to make wool, and dyed the wool with onion skin. I can remember a red sweater that I had, so she must have bought a little bit of dye to colour it. She made sweaters, socks, shirts, and pants.[13]

Fixing second-hand clothes was also common, because of the lack of money to purchase new ones and the limited time and materials to make them.[14] Significantly, however, the Ukrainians wore their ethnic garments to special public events such as the plays conducted in the Ukrainian hall, while the Japanese did not have similar opportunities.[15] All these facts suggest that the practical demands of farming and the climate did not always allow the Ukrainian and Japanese settlers to chose what to usually wear. They also suggest that the Japanese still felt uncomfortable about displaying their ethnicity in the most visible way, while the Ukrainians wanted both to assimilate and be visible, depending on time and place.

While clothing, as only superficial self-expression, did not necessarily reflect settlers' inner ethnic identity, the degree of retention of cultural expressions in both domestic architecture and furnishings and decorations inside the house indicates differences in choice facing Ukrainians and Japanese that ultimately changed their lifestyles.[16] There was a great difference between Japanese and Ukrainian settlers in maintaining their traditional domestic architecture, partly because the climate in the Ukrainian homeland was much closer to that of the Canadian prairies than was that of Japan, and partly because Japanese families often relied on local people when they built houses. Initially Ukrainians in the Opal/Maybridge district usually constructed the familiar two-room wooden dwelling – mudplastered and whitewashed - with its "*mala khata* (small house) for all domestic activities," "*velyka khata* (big house) for ceremonial functions or the entertainment of guests," and large clay stove or *pich* for cooking and sleeping on for warmth in winter.[17] Subsequent "Canadian" improvements included adding a second storey, a verandah, and siding. Despite plain furnishings, Ukrainian cultural and religious items such as embroidery, Easter eggs, and holy pictures were also displayed. As Josie Stepchuk indicates, both cleanliness and beauty were important:

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[12] Stepchuk, interview.

[13] Shikaze, interview.

[14] Stepchuk, interview; and William Barabash, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 24 October 1998.

[15] Hawrelko, interview.

> Every house was whitewashed inside three times a year. When people came, nobody said that you were not a good housekeeper. How proud they were. They used to have lots of embroidery, but they could not afford to buy them. Somebody got paper and made roses. We had a holy picture. It was colourful. They had lots of white.[18]

William Barabash also recalls:

> I think it was very much the kind of house they had in Ukraine. In terms of furnishings, not much of actual furniture would be the same, because that was pretty plain. But we had things like embroidery and Easter eggs. If you walked in, you would know that it was a Ukrainian home. And things were kept extremely neat.[19]

On the other hand, circumstances conspired against Japanese settlers preserving traditional elements in either house design or decoration. In Japan, farmhouses were built mainly from

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[16] John C. Lehr, "The Cultural Importance of Vernacular Architecture," in *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians*, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and Historic Sites Service, 1988), 87.

[17] *Ibid.*, 94; for details of Ukrainian architecture, see also John C. Lehr, *Ukrainian Vernacular Architecture in Alberta* (Edmonton: Historic Sites Service, 1976).

[18] Stepchuk, interview.

[19] Barabash, interview.

wood and were often well ventilated with many wide windows suited to humid weather.[20] The prairie climate, which was characterized by cold winters and general dryness, made it difficult for the Japanese to transplant their familiar rural domestic architecture. As a result, Japanese houses in the Opal/Maybridge area seemed to have a similar spatial pattern to Ukrainian dwellings in the district, as people remember that there were two rooms, one for family and the other for guests, with a big stove in the middle. Japanese informants remember hardly any cultural ornaments in their homes when they were children, as such ornaments were hard to get unless brought directly from Japan. Some houses, however, contained a Shinto shrine, whose most important feature was the mortuary tablets of the family's ancestors kept behind two doors.[21] While the basic style of the altar was retained from Japan, it became much simpler overall.

Language is another important element in the formation and expression of ethnic identity. At times a primary obstacle to communication, distinguishing insiders from outsiders, it also unites individuals as part of a larger "nation" or ethnic community, extending well beyond themselves and their specific place. In Opal/Maybridge, Ukrainian and Japanese settlers usually preserved their own languages in their households, initially because few of them spoke English when they arrived in the district. But they also regarded their mother tongue as a reflection of Ukrainian and Japanese cultural values, even as they saw the acquisition of English as crucial to the Canadianization and progress of their children. Efforts to maintain the Ukrainian and Japanese languages are clearly apparent. Josie Stepchuk, for example, remembers her father sitting with her and reading Ukrainian books in wintertime.[22] Some Ukrainian and Japanese families subscribed to ethnic newspapers published in Winnipeg and Vancouver respectively. Florence Shikaze also notes the importance, in a Japanese cultural context, of speaking to their parents in their own language, because it was a way of showing respect to older people who felt most comfortable in Japanese.[23]

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[20] Takeshi Nishikawa, *Formation of Japanese Farm Houses* (Tokyo: Shokokusha Publishing Co., 1958), 59; see also Audrey Kobayashi, "Emigration to Canada and Development of the Residential Landscape in a Japanese Village: The Paradox of the Sojourner," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 16 no. 3 (1984): 111-131.

[21] Frank Kimura, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 11 July 1998; and Bruce Kimura, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 18 August 1998.

Although Ukrainian and Japanese were commonly used in the private sphere of the household, it should be noted that use of English varied with sex, ethnic origin, and generation. This suggests that English was a greater barrier for some people than others in communication. Because women focused on the care of their families, centred on the house itself, their English ability was often worse than that of their husbands who worked outside and interacted more frequently with the larger world. In addition to gender differences, there seemed to be a gap between Ukrainian and Japanese settlers in acquiring English. John Hawrelko remembers that compared to the Ukrainians many Japanese people could speak English – a comment on the fact that Ukrainians constituted the largest group in the district, making knowledge of English less necessary to function. Allan Wachowich, whose father owned a general store, recounts how Ukrainian was a common language in the shop. It is interesting to note that a Japanese settler who operated a crushing business learned Ukrainian words.[24] The last disparity to be mentioned is between immigrant and Canadian-born generations. As children entered school, they were expected to learn English as soon as possible; it did not take long, mingling with classmates of other backgrounds and taking their lessons in the language of the host society.

Although not always visible, cultural behaviour and beliefs persisted in the first generation, both because they reflected traditional values in which Ukrainians and Japanese strongly believed and because they represented a way of life with which they grew up and felt comfortable. While immigrants made certain accommodations to the new land, they also, consciously or not, raised their children based on their own familiar morality and principles reflecting the old world. Good examples were Japanese shyness or bowing to others, and Ukrainians' hesitancy to send their children to dance parties in the evening. Josie Stepchuk remembers that she often had to sneak into the house after such parties. She also recalls Japanese behaviour and her parents' uncomfortable response to it:

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[22] Stepchuk, interview.

[23] Shikaze, interview.

[24] Takahashi, interview.

> When the Yamauchis moved to Opal, they had school-age children. On the first day, the father brought the oldest to school and gave a gift of a pencil and scribbler to each child in school. My parents were quite struck by this, because that was an expense that they felt the new neighbour surely could not afford. There would be more children to come each year. My dad met him [Mr. Yamauchi] to say, "Sampei, this is Canada. This is not expected of you." He also told him not to bow to them. Mr. Yamauchi took the statements very well and stopped both activities.[25]

For the Japanese, gift-giving and bowing were important to paying their respects. Josie Stepchuk's story indicates that the immigrants automatically retained both customs in Canada, even when it represented a financial burden and confused others.

Similarly, settlers' backgrounds determined the relationship between husband and wife, and between parents and children. Both Ukrainian and Japanese families in the Opal/Maybridge area retained a traditional male dominance in the household which was not entirely different from each other and often mainstream Anglo-Canadian culture.[26] The roles of men and women were quite obvious during family gatherings. The head of the

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[25] Stepchuk, interview.

[26] On the role of women, see, for example, Yuko Shibata, "Coping With Values in Conflict: Japanese Women in Canada," in *Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Asians in Canada*, ed. K. Victor Ujimoto and Gordon Hirabayashi (Toronto: Butterworths, 1980), 257-276; Marie Lesoway, "Women in Three Households," in Manoly Lupul, *Continuity and Change*, 114-120. See also Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Susan Jackel, ed., *A Flannel Shirt and Liberty: British Immigrant Gentlewomen in the Canadian West, 1880-1914* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982); and Eliane Leslau Silverman, *The Last Best West: Women on the Alberta Frontier, 1880-1930*, (Montreal: Eden Press, 1984).

Ukrainian and the Japanese household was always the man, respected by and deferred to by his family members. For example, John Hawrelko recalls suppers in his Ukrainian family:

> In our household all of us sat around the table. Of course we had to eat our meals quietly, because my dad was a military man. My dad was first served with whatever meal there was, and then all of us ate in turn. My mother rarely ever sat at the table with us, simply because there was really no room to begin with. Secondly, a woman generally was not sort of welcome at the table. She usually ate as the last person in the house.[27]

Similarly, Florence Shikaze describes how she treated her Japanese father:

> You did not have that relationship with father - like my children are having with their children. In those days, he was an older father, so you respected him, and you did not go up and climb on his knees. It was just a different way of life.[28]

Although these stories indicate that a traditional gender hierarchy in the household was carried to the new land, the division of labour between the sexes was influenced by the frontier environment, enlarging women's responsibilities. Most heavy physical labour on the farm was done by men, while women took care of their children and the livestock, prepared food, and looked after the house, as well as working on the farm when needed.[29] Drawing on the experience of his Ukrainian mother, William Barabash describes women's work load:

> The physical labour that women then had to undertake was hard to believe. There was no way that men could have survived farming operations at that time without women working. I often think they worked harder than men, because in addition to the many farm chores, they gave birth to children and looked after them. About 1946 or 47, we had a nice new house. But we didn't have electricity yet. So we had no running water in the house. Outdoor bathroom. Upon arising, one of the first things that mother had to do was to pull several pails of water out of the well, using

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[27] Hawrelko, interview.

[28] Shikaze, interview.

[29] As it is said that settlement on the prairies, in general, would not have been successful without women, they usually had a wide variety of responsibilities, both in the field and household, creating the better conditions in which men could focus on farming. See Nanci L. Langford, "First Generation and Lasting Impressions: The Gendered Identities of Prairie Homestead Women" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1994), 1.

> a rope and pulley. This was to fill the reservoir. The stove was on for cooking and heating water. Very, very hard work.[30]

Women were often regarded as the foundation of the homestead, and while the traditional predominance of Ukrainian and Japanese men in Opal/Maybridge did not change overall, the frontier environment offered their wives new and crucial roles in terms of the farm's manpower and success.

In addition to cultural beliefs and values retained in the family circle, ethnic and/or religious customs and special occasions were also marked more publicly with others of the same kind in Opal/Maybridge. Even if not all the ritual meanings and practices to which Ukrainians and Japanese had adhered in their homelands were kept, celebrating ethnic and/or religious holidays was significant as "a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country."[31] Such celebrations also took place voluntarily, as self-expressions of ethnic and/or religious distinctiveness. Ukrainian informants, for example, remembered Christmas and Easter as two equally important major events of the year. Feasting and visiting friends characterized both events, although some went to church or carolling on Christmas. Because there was no Ukrainian Catholic or Orthodox church in Opal/Maybridge, those who attended Christmas and Easter services usually went to the Russian Orthodox church in neighbouring Eastgate. Families also kept other traditional practices, as Josie Stepchuk explains, "We used to have to go without certain kinds of foods based on Catholic tradition during Lent."[32] But John Hawrelko suggests that in some households people kept a minimum of rituals:

> We would take horses and sleighs and go visiting evenings during the Christmas season. On Christmas Eve we might want to just bow our heads and my dad might

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[30] Barabash, interview.

[31] Herbert J. Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2, no. 1 (1979): 9.

[32] Stepchuk, interview.

> say two or three words as a ritual. But eventually, even that one went by the board.[33]

In a more public sense, because Ukrainians adhered to the Julian calendar, Christmas and Easter also became identifiably "Ukrainian" ethnic as well as religious holidays, as other school children realized the great Ukrainian absence from school on these days.[34] What all this suggests is that Ukrainian religious holidays were important spiritually and socially, and as family gatherings, at the same time as the form and meaning of the celebration often changed. Moreover, events which were normally celebrated in the old country, gained new political meaning as part of ethnic collective identity in the Canadian context, functioning as a divisive factor between Ukrainians and Japanese settlers in Opal/Maybridge. Informants suggest that neither group knew what the other was organizing for its special days or understood the cultural importance of others' celebrations.

For their part, Japanese families celebrated New Year's Day, the major holiday in the Japanese calendar, although people only preserved rituals which they could practice in the new setting.[35] Traditionally, the Japanese prepare for the holiday by cleaning the house, making large quantities of special foods so that they do not need to cook for several days, and decorating their home with such ornaments as *kadomatsu* (pine trees with bamboo), *shimekazari* (straw rope tied with a white paper and an orange) and *kagamimochi* (rice cake). On New Year's Day, they visit a Buddhist temple or Shinto shrine as well as their friends to wish good luck for the year. In Opal/Maybridge, Japanese settlers did not follow public religious rituals, without any community Shinto or Buddhist shrine or temple, but maintained other customs and their spiritual beliefs. Women cooked enormous amounts of special food which would last for three days, men cleaned the barns, and everyone tried not to work; as Joyce Kiyooka puts it, "Don't cook on New Year's Day, just eat. Don't do anything."[36] Florence Shikaze describes how her family celebrated the New Year as an amalgam of traditions:

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[33] Hawrelko, interview.

[34] Allan Wachowich, interview.

[35] In British Columbia, where the majority of the Japanese lived before the Second World War, New Year's Day seems to have been celebrated in the closest manner to the homeland traditions, in terms of foods and rituals. Grayce Yamamoto indicates that the Japanese practice on the New Year's Day to wish everyone a Happy New Year gained popularity among other Canadians. See her "*NISEI*: Best of Two Worlds?" *New Canadian* (Vancouver edition, Japanese), 2 July 1974, 1-2.

> The thing I remember is that there was just one window, and my father would put up the Union Jack. He would put that flag on one side, and the Japanese flag on the other side, and then the Christmas tree was in the middle. Then he put *ososnae* (offerings). That was for New Year's Day. Loyal to both. Canada meant very much to him, and at the same time his mother country was very important.[37]

Her story suggests that the Japanese New Year's Day was not only culturally transformed in the Canadian context with the mixture of Canadian and Japanese decorations, but also politicized with new ritual meanings to express the family's dual loyalties and psychological ties to the new land. Yet Japanese settlers also tried to maintain their traditional elements; visiting was a big part of New Year's events. For example, six Japanese families in the district got together to make *mochi* (rice cakes), a common offering on New Year's Day.[38] New Year's Day was perhaps the only ethnic occasion with old-world origins on which local Japanese settlers gathered. Other traditional holidays and rituals seemed to have been lost in most families, although Lucy Takahashi remembers her family staying with Japanese people in Edmonton for two days to visit her sister's grave for *bon*, a Buddhist ritual to pray for the departed soul. The Japanese families also had annual summer picnics at Kimura's farm; although the event was not a traditional holiday, it provided an opportunity to talk with people of the same kind and to eat ethnic food such as *sushi*.

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[36] Joyce Kiyooka, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 12 June 1998.

[37] Shikaze, interview.

[38] Shikaze, Takahashi, Chizuko Kimura, interviews.

Although language and some ethnic and religious traditions survived in the household, and often drew lines between the Ukrainians and Japanese, life on the prairies was based on economic and social interdependence among settlers.[39] The divisions emerging from linguistic and cultural differences rarely surfaced in the public sphere, where mingling among settlers helped develop a sense of community. Cooperation and sharing to secure the necessities of life were an important first step in promoting friendship and mutual understanding. Informal interaction took place through helping, borrowing, working together, and socializing among neighbours. Because settlers usually entered the Opal/Maybridge area without any knowledge of prairie farming, farm equipment and livestock, and even a place to live, cooperation and borrowing were necessary from the earliest stages. Pioneering also involved considerable communal work and assistance, particularly for tasks requiring extensive physical labour. In addition, general isolation and distance imposed by the homestead system made personal visiting very important, whether on a casual basis with one's immediate neighbours or more formally and farther away on special occasions.

Clearing the land and harvesting were two jobs that could only be done through the combined efforts of several men aided by the women who fed them. Because of the physical nature of such work, cultural and linguistic differences and residential segregation seldom prevented settlers from cooperating across ethnic lines. When immigrants entered the Opal/Maybridge area, the first thing that they had to do was cut trees to create farm land. The task seems to have been done primarily by family members, or by hired hands who were not always neighbours; people hired whoever needed a job regardless of ethnic background. The most prominent Japanese settler in Maybridge, Toyomatsu Kimura, for example, employed approximately twenty labourers, most of whom were East Europeans and Metis.[40] Sawing wood for heat in winter was another communal project, as the hard physical labour involved encouraged people in the district to do it as a group.[41] Harvesting is universally remembered as an event in which everyone helped one another. Particularly during the earliest years of settlement, when only one or two families possessed a tractor or threshing machine, the harvest had to be done communally. Neighbours in the Opal/Maybridge district also organized a threshing crew that moved around surrounding farms.[42] Women's role at harvest time was indispensable. William Barabash describes his mother's daily routine:

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[39] See, for example, Jean Burnet, *Next Year Country: A Study of Rural Social Organization in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951), 34-35.

> Threshing time, you had about twelve to fifteen men. They would need breakfast by about 6:00 to 6:30. They had a great breakfast, because it was hard physical labour. So men got up early, too. They went to see the horses to make sure the horses got fed. Then they came for breakfast, and then they took the horses and started picking up bundles of grain for threshing. My mother got all the dishes left. And she always brought lunch to the field. Then there was the noon meal, and then afternoon lunch, and then supper. And most cases, one woman could do that. In that type of farming operation in that age, I just can't see that a man alone could achieve any kind of success. They just couldn't. There was no way. It was amazing.[43]

Although each farm wife usually handled meals by herself, she sometimes sought help from neighbouring women. Joyce Kiyooka, for example, remembers that she used to help an English lady during harvest time, preparing breakfast early in the morning and bringing lunch to the field for hungry threshers. Because people needed "hands" more than communication in all this physical work, and had common goals in their livelihood, the linguistic and cultural lines between the Ukrainians and Japanese decreased in importance and seldom became obstacles to working together.

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[40] James Kimura, "Life and Times of a Young Japanese Immigrant," unpublished memoirs, n.d., personal collection of Chizuko Kimura.

[41] Barabash, Stepchuk, interviews.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] Barabash, interview.

While cooperative work was a crucial factor in creating a sense of community among Opal/Maybridge settlers, borrowing was another important activity which connected neighbours across ethnic lines. Just like cooperative work, borrowing often took place to guarantee survival.[44] At the earliest stage of the settlement, people tended to rely on relatives or friends of their own kind, partly because they did not have to worry about communication, and partly because relatives and friends could provide the minimum necessities of life. As time passed and farmers' standard of living and expectations rose, the need for special skills, knowledge, and material things increased. "Minimum" help and survival were no longer satisfactory. At this point, individuals began to exchange things with other people not only because they had made progress in English but also because their fellow Ukrainians or Japanese did not always have what they required.

Borrowing usually started when immigrants entered the Opal/Maybridge area and needed accommodation. New Ukrainian settlers stayed with other Ukrainians and new Japanese arrivals with other Japanese, reinforcing residential segregation along ethnic lines. However, immigrants soon realized that in such a small settlement people of the same kind could not always supply everything. In fact, "luxuries" like the telephone, the radio, and even means of transportation, which played an important role in connecting people within the district and to the outside, were often scarce. Frank Kimura recalls that as a Japanese settler's child, he often visited a neighbouring English family to use its telephone.[45] In other case, a Ukrainian woman whose family acquired the first radio in the district remembers Japanese people coming to her farm to listen to the news.[46] People also borrowed means of transportation. Children usually walked to school, for example, but sometimes got a ride. Josie Stepchuk tells how a French bachelor took them to school in his wagon when it was very cold. Florence Shikaze recalls a similar instance of neighbourliness:

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[44] In 1852, Susanna Moodie, an English gentlewoman who immigrated to Upper Canada, called the frontier borrowing system a "evil habit". In Opal/Maybridge, informants saw borrowing as an important way of survival. See Susanna Moodie, *Roughing It in the Bush: Life in Canada*, ed. Elizabeth Thompson (1852; reprint, Ottawa: Tecumeseh Press Ltd., 1997), 54 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

[45] Frank Kimura, interview.

[46] Stepchuk, interview.

> I remember once in particular, it was such a cold day. I don't remember if it was a Ukrainian or Polish person, but he brought his horses and wagon. He had a futon in there. He was taking his children to school, and we just happened to come at the same time. So we got a ride to school.[47]

These anecdotes indicate that ethnic barriers did not matter in providing help, especially when safety and comfort were an issue. Wachowich's truck, at one time the only automobile in the district, represents another instance of civic conscience. As Edward Wachowich puts it, "When my father went to Edmonton once or twice a year, there was always somebody who wanted to come with him."[48] In fact, neighbours seemed to rely on the truck to go anywhere. When the Opal baseball team travelled to surrounding centres to play, for example, Wachowich provided the transportation. His truck was also used for emergencies. When Tomoichi Kimura was seriously injured on the farm, Wachowich drove him to a hospital in Edmonton; a sick Japanese girl was likewise carried to the hospital in the truck. Such material "luxuries" and signs of economic progress not only became vital connections between Opal/Maybridge and other prairie points, but also contributed to the creation of an unequal relationship, giving power and superiority to those who possessed them. Moreover, when these individuals were of foreign origin, they challenged the initial cultural and political advantages of Anglo-Canadian settlers.

Exchanging skills or helping also played an important role in expanding a circle of friendship. The Opal/Maybridge settlers, regardless of ethnic origin, showed great interdependence in this regard, elevating specific individuals to a position of community prominence and importance in others' lives. Significantly, those who had special skills were not always professionally trained, but their experience and specialized knowledge were highly valued on the frontier in order to overcome various problems and live comfortably. On settling in the area, newcomers first sought advice on farming, keeping cattle, and surviving the winter from those who were already there. Roy Kiyooka, who recorded his mother's memoirs, writes: "Most of the farmers around Opal were from the Ukraine. When we moved onto the farm, they showed how to take care of animals and how to hitch them to the plough and harrow."[49] It bears reiterating that some of the Japanese who settled in Opal/Maybridge came from the upper middle class and were not experienced farmers, having thus to rely on neighbouring Ukrainians for much basic farming knowledge. Another important example of borrowing a skill was midwifery. Although some women had babies in the hospital in Edmonton, many gave birth right on the farm. William Barabash remembers a Ukrainian midwife, Mrs. Kaschyshyn, attending most childbirths in the district. That illness also called on the medical folk wisdom of Ukrainians suggests that it was at least regarded as practical. As Josie Stepchuk puts it, "A Scotch guy had very bad sciatica. The doctor told him, 'You go to a Ukrainian lady and get some sauerkraut.' So he used to come and bring a jar. My mother would get some sauerkraut juice."[50] John Hawrelko also recalls neighbours visiting his parents' farm for his father's veterinarian skills:

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[47] *Ibid.*

[48] Edward Wachowich, interview by author, Edmonton, AB, 9 November 1998.

> My dad was kind of a self-taught veterinarian. When he was a prisoner of war in Siberia, he was assigned to a cavalry officer. That was where he learned a little bit about veterinary medicine. In Canada, he would attend to the other farmers whose horses were sick or cows were delivering calves. He was handy in that way. There were always people coming and going. There was quite an interchange among people.[51]

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[49] Roy Kiyooka, *Mothertalk: Life Stories of Mary Kiyoshi Kiyooka*, ed. Daphne Marlatt (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1997), 138.

[50] Stepchuk, interview.

[51] Hawrelko, interview.

It is obvious that immigrants' special skills and knowledge were not only vital to the farming community, but also created links both among people of different origins and between early settlers and newcomers. In addition, individual Ukrainians in particular acted as mediators between two cultures and ways of life, which gave them a new and important status in the settlement. One incident still remembered by many informants concerns the Catholic church's refusal to bury a Japanese baby, on the grounds that he had never been baptized, and the intervention of a Ukrainian neighbour, Joseph Andruski, who helped obtain permission to bury the baby on the farm. This form of exchange reflects a hierarchy in the settlement, giving some Ukrainians, who came from the Christian world and had settled earlier than the Japanese, a role as guides in helping people.

While cooperation and borrowing were driven by necessity, social visiting was done voluntarily. For this reason, it became a significant further step in creating a sense of local community, and suggests a more complex relationship among settlers in which ethnicity played a greater or lesser role depending on time period and generation. During the earliest years of the Opal/Maybridge settlement, ethnic divisions between Ukrainians and Japanese stemmed mainly from difficulties of communication, as many of the first Ukrainian and Japanese settlers did not speak English with any fluency. As John Hawrelko observes, the main cause of ethnic isolation was "not a problem of relations, but simply a problem of language."[52] As immigrants acquired English and the linguistic barrier between them declined, however, personal visiting beyond ethnic boundaries increased. There was also a great difference between the immigrant and the second generations. Ethnicity little affected friendships among Canadian-born children, especially once they went to school, but playing together extended well beyond the schoolyard. Josie Stepchuk, for example, talks about a Japanese friend who often visited her:

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[52] *Ibid.*

> The Kiyookas lived across the road. Irene Kiyooka was a little girl and she came to play with us. She used to stay for lunch with us and mentions, "That is where I learned to eat perogies." She said that she would wait and wonder if I would ask her to stay. I said, "Did I ask you?" She said, "Yes, every time."[53]

Edward Wachowich also recalls:

> When the Kiyookas came to Opal, I was about grade seven, and Harry Kiyooka was my age. We as kids always used to play wrestling. Harry Kiyooka always used to be able to beat kids. He knew some *jujutsu*. I was bigger and stronger than him. I lifted him up, grabbed him, and he could not do anything. I could do whatever I wanted. So it took a few months for him to learn that. But he and I were good friends. He had Mr. Watanabe's twenty two. We spent hours practicing. The Watanabes' farm was in the bush, ten miles behind. We used to go into the bush. We used to take turns. If he saw a partridge, he shot it, and the next partridge we saw was my shot. He had good eyes.[54]

Friendship among the second generation was not limited to one-on-one interaction, and often involved a number of people. Team sports like hockey, the ultimate Canadian winter recreational activity, offered a significant opportunity for children to play together. William Barabash remembers:

> In terms of winter time for hockey, we hauled water on a little sled from the Wachowich household, and flooded the area to make a hockey rink in Opal, and we banked up snow on the side. We used old Eaton's catalogues for pads. Mr. Wachowich had a well by his house. So we were able to take water from his well, and put it into a tub. All guys, Bruce Kimura, Harry Kiyooka, Allan Wachowich, everybody participated.[55]

These passages show that socializing across ethnic lines among the Canadian-born generation became an important part of Canadianization and their everyday life, as they acquired English and entertained themselves in Canadian ways.

While relations between Ukrainian and Japanese settlers were quite good, both groups had fewer contacts with British families in the district, and informants suggest that socializing with British people was limited, especially among the immigrant generation. This indicates that Anglo-Canadian settlers, the first to enter the area, acted as the host society in Opal/Maybridge, with Ukrainian and Japanese families considered foreigners. Local Anglo-Canadian families had at least an advantage with respect to language and were regarded as "people from whom immigrants had to learn."[56] Cultural and linguistic barriers seemed to be greater than racial differences, though, because there is no indication that the Anglo-Canadians and Ukrainians united as "whites" against the Japanese. While tension surfaced in only a few cases, and ethnic divisions are remembered as rarely affecting the second generation, discrimination did appear among the first generation. Josie Stepchuk recalls:

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[53] Stepchuk, interview.

[54] Edward Wachowich, interview.

[55] Barabash, interview.

> I know there was a Scottish family in which the mother was very strict. She didn't let her kids go to school affairs, because she didn't want her kids to witness what Ukrainians did. The girl used to tell me that she could never go to anywhere, because her mother wouldn't let her. She went to England and stayed with her aunt. Those kids grew up very lonely. They had a good-looking son and he liked a Ukrainian girl. His father was magistrate in Opal. He had his ways to curb his son's activities.[57]

This story not only suggests that some British settlers in the district had a well-established sense of their superior status, and strove to keep it, but also points to a gap between children and adults in terms of tolerance and accepting people of other ethnic origins.

Mingling with people of different ethnic backgrounds provided opportunities to observe and experience another culture. Such direct exposure was important, because it seemed to reduce resistance to what was different and to promote understanding among settlers. The multiethnic character of the Opal/Maybridge settlement gave settlers frequent chances to interact with a variety of people. In addition, Ukrainians' numerical strength in the district made it difficult to exclude their cultural influence from the local sphere, even though it was alien to the British mainstream. At least in informants' reminiscences, local Ukrainians and Japanese saw each other's culture as curious rather than as a problem or a threat, accepting different customs. John Hawrelko, for example, remembers how his

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[56] Edward Wachowich, interview.

[57] Stepchuk interview.

Ukrainian peasant mother enjoyed a sense of status and importance, when a Japanese settler bowed to her, a gesture that in her homeland humble peasants owed to the landlord as their social better.[58] The most obvious example of cultural exchange involved food. Because of the number of Ukrainians in the area, Japanese settlers learned how to make Ukrainian food. Florence Shikaze, for example, mentions:

> I think that we learned our parents' way, because they were teaching us. At the same time, we were taking the other culture, because we were growing up with it. Because there were so many other ethnic groups in the area, they were very tolerant and understanding. This is why they got together and made perogies and cabbage rolls. Now, every Christmas when my family gets together, perogies and cabbage rolls always must be there. That is part of Opal.[59]

In fact, the local culture in Opal/Maybridge had a strong Ukrainian flavour as an extension of the Ukrainian bloc settlement. Yet even a few Japanese families made the presence of Japanese cultural elements in Opal/Maybridge visible. A few Ukrainians do remember having Japanese food. "I used to visit Mrs. Takenaka," Josie Stepchuk recalls. "She made some Japanese food, beans and fruits. We were not used to that kind of food."[60] Allan Wachowich's memories are similar:

> I remember going to Kiyookas' place, and sometimes having something Japanese. I do not think they had *sushi*, but I remember foods were a little bit different. I remember one time Mrs. Kiyooka made buns with blue icing on them. I could hardly wait to taste them. I had never seen blue icing before. I would think that those families, all of them, adapted to western culture, because I do not recall too often seeing food being that unique.[61]

As these stories indicate, the Japanese influence was not as strong as the Ukrainian. They also illustrate the process by which some Japanese elements were incorporated into the local experience or identity, appreciated by Ukrainians as "unique" food, while Japanese informants understood Ukrainian food as a part of their more general prairie culture rather than as equally ethnic.

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[58] Hawrelko, interview.

[59] Shikaze, interview.

[60] Stepchuk, interview.

[61] Allan Wachowich, interview.

While informal or personal interaction among Ukrainian and Japanese settlers played an important role in creating a circle of neighbours and friends in the private sphere, formal institutions and events provided opportunities to get together in public space. Two types of gatherings and settings dominated: those organized mainly for a specific ethnic and/or religious group, although often attended by other people in the settlement; and those designed for the whole community, which drew people together around a common focus. The first form of interaction shows how ethnicity and religion were incorporated into the local experience in the process, promoting a specific ethnic and/or religious identity, opening a group's culture to a more general audience, and introducing elements of Canadianization. In the Opal/Maybridge area, only Ukrainians organized non-religious public events, and even then the Ukrainian *chytalnia* (reading club) in Opal was not restricted to Ukrainians, as although plays and songs were performed in Ukrainian, other people came to see and hear them. As William Barabash recalls, "relations in that area - between the McInnises, Phillips, and McDonalds and us - were very good. They came to the hall in Opal for plays and concerts largely done by the Slavic community. These other people came to all these things."[62] Lucy Takahashi also remembers attending movies held in the hall, despite the Ukrainian propaganda that often accompanied them. The hall also hosted some general interest meetings, such as discussions about alcoholism, and political party campaigns.[63] Still, many of the activities at the hall - established in 1919 by a group of Ukrainian settlers gathering at Andruskis' house to discuss creating a Ukrainian cultural institution - were attended only by Ukrainians, in large part because events were often designed to promote Ukrainian nationalistic and cultural interests. Josie Stepchuk wrote in her memoirs: "One evening, Elana, a middle-aged mother, started reciting folklore about life in their homeland. Everybody listened for a good hour; they were brought to tears and to laughter."[64] The hall thus served to showcase Ukrainian culture for people of other ethnic origins, who simply wanted entertainment regardless of language and cultural messages, and also to promote Ukrainian identity.

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[62] Barabash, interview.

[63] Hawrelko, Stepchuk, Barabash, interviews.

A particularly notable event was the Ukrainian wedding, always held as a pan-community activity in which everyone could participate and enjoy Ukrainian culture. Weddings were regarded locally as uniquely Ukrainian events and as important opportunities to get together to celebrate regardless of ethnic origin, because it was usual for the first generation of Japanese men to go back to Japan, get married, and return with their brides, and for the second generation to marry Japanese from other parts of Canada.[65] In addition, because most Japanese in the interwar period favoured arranged marriages, as seen in the system of picture brides practiced until 1928, Japanese people did not always celebrate the occasion with a festive mood.[66] Although Ukrainians preserved their traditional style of celebrating marriages, reserving a few days for the festivities, gathering in both the groom's and the bride's home, and inviting the whole community, changes occurred in Canada. As the meaning of many rituals, from pre-wedding preparations to the day of the ceremony, faded, weddings increased in importance as social gatherings.[67] The Ukrainian wedding, William Barabash explains,

> was also a very important recreational thing. After supper, other people came, who did not have to be invited. That was fine. They came for the dance. . . There were no such things as ethnic lines. But again, the majority was Ukrainian, because they

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[64] Stepchuk, memoirs.

[65] James Kimura, memoirs.

[66] On picture brides, see, for example, Tomoko Makabe, *Picture Brides: Japanese Women in Canada* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1995).

[67] On the traditional rituals and ceremonies for the Ukrainian wedding, see, for example, see, Lesia Ann Maruschak, "The Ukrainian Wedding: An Examination of Its Rites, Customs, and Traditions" (M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1985).

> were majority people there. It does not mean that the McInnises and McDonalds, for example, were not invited.[68]

Some Japanese informants remember attending Ukrainian weddings. Neighbours actually played a very important part, both as guests and in preparing for the party. People created a special entrance in an arch form, played music, and cooked plenty of food. As Allan Wachowich recalls, "people in the community got together and helped, just like threshing time."[69]

Similarly, churches and their activities were often ethnically linked or even focal points of ethnic identity at the same time as they served as meeting places for everyone. The local Presbyterian church, for example, appealed culturally as well as spiritually to some British settlers. The local Roman Catholic church, organized by several Polish families, conducted services with Polish missionaries in Polish and Latin and was attended mainly by Polish families in the district, reinforcing Roman Catholicism as an aspect of Polish identity.[70] Allan Wachowich explains:

> We were committed Catholics. All of us went to Catholic school. What happened in those days at Opal was that a sister would come from Edmonton and teach Catholicism for a week. I spent one week and received my first Holy Communion at Opal. I was grade two or three then.[71]

Just like the Ukrainian reading hall, however, the Roman Catholic church was not limited exclusively to the Poles but also attended by Japanese and Ukrainians, although many did not go all the time. Edward Wachowich remembers some Japanese and Ukrainian people coming to mass and "standing around after the service, talking to one another."[72] While every settler regarded the occasion as an opportunity to gather with community people, the church services had slightly different other meanings to different ethnic groups. While the Roman Catholic mass was spiritually and culturally important for the Poles, the Ukrainians tended to value its general Christian moral lessons, and the Japanese attended because it was the "Canadian" thing even though they did not understand the languages of the service.

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[68] Barabash, interview.

[69] Allan Wachowich, interview.

[70] Rose Dul, "Polish Ukrainian Relations in Opal," interview by Joanna Matejiko, November 1978, personal collection of Allan Wachowich.

[71] Allan Wachowich, interview.

[72] Edward Wachowich, interview.

Church picnics, a feature of Canadian prairie culture generally, also united people regardless of ethnicity or religion, and constituted a popular if seasonal aspect of local entertainment. The emergence of culturally homogeneous "Canadian" features in such events illustrates how the activities of religious institutions were transformed on the frontier as members adopted aspects of the larger culture. Canadianization was particularly apparent in food, as organizers erected booths to sell hot-dogs, ice cream, sandwiches, and chocolate bars. Ethnic foods seemed to have no place in this Canadianization of eating habits. As Florence Shikaze comments, "Nowadays, *sushi* is a big thing, isn't it? But in those days, you did not want to eat too much. It was such a minority. It was difficult."[73] At the same time, the second generation saw these Canadian foods as an integral and exciting part of the event. Children looked eagerly for these new foods which they rarely saw in everyday life. Church picnics also featured mainstream prairie sports, baseball or tipee, in which everybody could participate. Chizuko Kimura's husband James was "very good at pitching. So different people came to ask him to pitch during fun time."[74] Church picnics, in other words, contributed to the creation of a pan-community and Canadian prairie identity, as opposed to the ethnoreligious exclusiveness often contained in church services, and emphasized the significant role of churches as public institutions involved in community building.

It must be emphasized that the Japanese did not have structured public religious or ethnic events. While the annual Japanese picnic on Kimuras' farm served their ethnic interests, bringing people together and serving Japanese food, it was not attended by members of other ethnic groups or even widely known. As William Barabash says, "I cannot remember whether the small Japanese community would have had anything specifically."[75] In this sense, the Japanese picnic became neither a place to open Japanese culture to people of other backgrounds nor a event which connected Japanese families with their non-Japanese neighbours. The concept of gathering in a picnic setting itself, however, can be regarded as a sign of Canadianization. Informants also saw the Japanese picnic as a very important occasion for the first generation particularly, to entertain themselves and each other in the frontier environment.

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[73] Shikaze, interview.

[74] Chizuko Kimura, interview.

The second type of formal interaction, pan-community events and meeting places not designed for or confined to a specific ethnic group, represented the homogeneous side of prairie culture and society from the beginning. They offered immigrants and their children learning, leisure, fellowship, and a break from the monotony of farm life. Another important repercussion, especially when people started to travel to neighbouring settlements, was to geographically and psychologically establish the boundary of the local "community" in contrast with other surrounding centres. School events, like Christmas concerts and track meets, pitting Opal/Maybridge against other school districts and bringing people together across ethnic and religious lines, illustrate both the spread of local prairie culture and the development of localized identity independent of old-world traditions. Christmas concerts, for example, became social events which featured Santa Claus; people again ate pies, cakes, and chocolate bars, all introduced from and considered to be part of the mainstream Anglo-Canadian culture. Planned by teachers and pupils, the concert also became a gathering for parents. Josie Stepchuk recalls how the school was important for her family:

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[75] Barabash, interview.

> School taught us all the things. We learned games and learned to share. Teachers put us together, and our parents started getting interested in these activities. They used to come into school. It provided women a chance to get out, because they did not get out to any social activities. They were afraid that they did not speak the language, and somebody would laugh. It was a good start for us. . . I was lucky because my parents were around me all the time.[76]

Both the schoolyard and the community hall were used to open school activities to the public. William Barabash remembers preparing for the Christmas concert:

> Especially the Christmas concert was a big thing. The teacher would send a few of us, a small group, around noon. We opened the hall, and started a fire in the heater. It was often very cold. Then the rest of the kids and teacher would start off the afternoon. We did rehearsals there for concerts - songs, plays, and pageants.[77]

In addition to mounting these special occasions to which the whole community was welcome, the school, of course, was the place where children met other people and cultures on a daily basis.[78] Although Canadianization of the Canadian born in their beliefs and attitudes towards others through the school created a generation gap with their immigrant parents, cultural differences seldom surfaced as tensions in the district. Parents did not reject what their children acquired in school, regarding it as important for their future. Children also rarely argued with or criticized their parents for their traditions and beliefs, behaving in different ways at home and school. This situation is well described when informants say: "Out in the district, all were the same, but at home there were differences," or "At school, it was very much the same. But we ate Japanese foods five times a week. Ukrainians must have had Ukrainian foods. We spoke Japanese at home, while they spoke Ukrainian at home."[79] School encouraged a wider circle of friends and often softened ethnic differences, as informants argue that their background rarely affected their friendships. The only exception was perhaps racial origin. Although racial prejudice was not in retrospect regarded as strong in the settlement, children were nevertheless aware of the differences. Florence Shikaze, for example, remembers:

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[76] *Ibid.*

[77] Barabash, interview.

[78] For an examination of assimilation in multicultural schools on the prairies, see also, David Garth Bryans, "Education and Acculturation: The School in A Multicultural Setting" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1971), 171-208.

[79] Stepchuk, Bruce Kimura, interviews.

> You wished you were the same as them with their fair hair and lighter skin. Especially, I had always been dark. I knew that, and of course, a lot of things about your nose, that was always big. These days you get some of these ethnic groups fighting, but it was not like that.[80]

Some people also recall teasing and ethnic slurs such as "Jap" and "Bohunk." However, name-calling apparently did not cause any fights, being only a "kids' thing."

Voluntary social activities provided another formal opportunity for people to get together as a community. These activities played important roles both in promoting the Canadian side of settlers' identity and in establishing a sense of local "community" versus surrounding districts, especially in people's minds.[81] Contact with more distant neighbours outside Opal/Maybridge offered Ukrainians and Japanese an opportunity to see themselves relatively and helped cultivate a group consciousness beyond ethnic lines. Baseball tournaments constitute a perfect example of recreational activities serving simultaneously to unite local people around a common North American activity and to help them define themselves against the "outside other." Opal had a baseball team, organized by young men, that travelled to surrounding centres to play against teams from Waugh, Eastgate, Egremont, Thorhild, Redwater, and other points. Baseball itself is a communal sport, in terms of both playing and watching. The extent to which individuals identified with the local team is illustrated by the general anger felt when Bruce Kimura, a good pitcher, played for an opposing team.[82] The Opal baseball team was also supported by local leaders such as Philip Wachowich, who provided equipment and transportation, and British people who offered a site for a diamond or coached the team.[83] The settlers did not simply regard baseball as casual entertainment, but devoted themselves to the team as a community achievement which made local boundaries much more important than ethnicity.

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[80] Shikaze, interview.

[81] Gregory Robinson, for example, argues that Ukrainians brought "territorial antagonisms" from their homeland, and often showed hostility to outsiders. See Gregory Robinson, "Rougher Than Any Other Nationality? Ukrainian Canadians and Crime in Alberta, 1915-29," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 16, nos. 1-2 (Summer-Winter 1991): 147-179.

Dances also attracted people from surrounding centres, as with better roads and more cars they started to travel greater distances in pursuit of entertainment. The increasing traffic among different settlements on special occasions and the significance of events like dances can be seen for example in the emergence of rural Ukrainian "gangs" that travelled around the Ukrainian bloc to attend parties and confront local youths.[84] People in the Opal/Maybridge area sometimes went to relatively close places like Waugh and Egremont, with largely Slavic or British populations and not as multicultural as Opal/Maybridge and met new people. In the early years, the lack of transportation and poor roads that hindered intercourse with surrounding settlements also affected the extent to which people came culturally to understand each other. Yet interaction with outsiders reminded the Opal/Maybridge settlers that they lived in a unique cultural setting with several ethnic groups, especially and most unusually the Japanese, who all contributed to their self-image. In fact, other local settlements apparently did not have as much tolerance as Opal/Maybridge, as racial discrimination sometimes reared its head at public dances. William Barabash, for example, recalls:

> I went to school with Bruce Kimura, Frank and Harry Kiyooka. We got along very well, although there were some areas which had different feelings towards Japanese, like a place called Waugh. I used to go to dances there with Kimura. One time, I remember, there was a pretty rude ethnic remark made about Harry Kiyooka by some people at the dance hall in the area. A couple of guys said to me why I am associating with a dark fellow. But that was rare. In our area in Opal, there was not

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[82] Hawrelko, interview.

[83] *Ibid.*; and Allan Wachowich, Edward Wachowich, interviews.

[84] Robinson, "Rougher Than Any Other Nationality?," 159-161.

> any negativism, or looking down. We knew Kiyookas, Nishimotos, and Kimuras. They received kind of the same treatment as our people when they first came here.[85]

Josie Stepchuk's story suggests not only that a difference in attitudes towards the Japanese gave the Opal/Maybridge Ukrainians a significant role as mediator, but also illustrates that their own experience as a minority group paralleled that of the Japanese:

> There was an exchange between different districts. We played against each other. When districts made tours, kids from other places didn't know the Japanese, and they called them names. We stood out. Because they were in other districts, they didn't assimilate with other nationalities. You could see the difference. So we were always fighters for the Japanese kids. This kind of thing happened to us too. If relatives of English kids came from the city, they would call us [Ukrainians] names.[86]

The fact that local Ukrainians defended the Japanese as friends against prejudice voiced by people from other districts indicates that a crystallizing sense of community based on geography and familiarity also closed ranks against outsiders. Such incidents also allow informants, in retrospect, to create a positive image of the Opal/Maybridge area, expressed in "tolerance," "friendly," and "no discrimination," and comparing their "good" attitudes towards the Japanese with the prejudice and discrimination of others.

The Opal/Maybridge area emerged as a social unit through various kinds of interaction. The sense of community that developed among Ukrainian and Japanese settlers does not, however, mean that ethnicity had no impact on local identity. While some ethnic and associated religious traditions declined in the new country, others were maintained, even though transformed and altered, in the household, and in some cases, in public space. Tensions between Ukrainians and Japanese in the district because of differences in cultural beliefs, values, language, and food appear to have been slight. Ukrainian influences were particularly strong, given Ukrainians' proportionately large population, and the Japanese settlers were often exposed to them through personal and public exchanges. While the

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[85] Barabash, interview.

[86] Stepchuk, interview.

Japanese impact was not as strong as the Ukrainian, local people acknowledged the Japanese presence, which the informants tried to incorporate into their "unique" local identity, and sometimes experienced its culture first hand. Meanwhile, pan-community events as part of a homogenizing prairie culture, emerging particularly around recreational activities and the school, contributed to the formation of an Opal/Maybridge identity characterized by cultural diversity and tolerance, connecting the settlers in the district with surrounding communities at the same time as setting them apart.

Chapter 4

Beyond the Local Community: Opal/Maybridge Ukrainians and Japanese and Canadian Ethnic Politics

By the interwar period Canada had received large numbers of immigrants from various places in the world. Many of them were seen to threaten the country's British fabric and made Canadian leaders stress the need for assimilation. It was also during these years that the immigrants' own ethnic (and often religious) leaders tried to raise the group consciousness of their people and at the same time secure their place in Canadian society. Although these elites were politically more vulnerable than Anglo Canadian nation builders, their ideological activities played a significant part in the evolution of a Canadian identity around the notion of a "mosaic." The main goal of this chapter is to examine the impact of the interaction between mainstream goals and ethnicity on the character of Canadian identity between the wars, concentrating on two groups, the Ukrainians and the Japanese. It can be explored through two levels of ideological interaction. The first concerns the national picture, focusing on the competing agenda of Anglo-Canadian leaders with their assimilationist sentiments and of Ukrainian and Japanese elites in Winnipeg and Vancouver respectively. The second concerns the extent to which the grassroots were conscious of and affected by the propaganda of either set of elites, focusing specifically on the Opal/Maybridge district in rural Alberta. These two spheres of ideological activity constantly interacted with each other, to determine the role of Ukrainians and Japanese in Canadian society more generally as well as the impact of "Ukrainianness" and "Japaneseness" in the Opal/Maybridge settlement.

During the 1920s and 1930s, as Anglo-Canadian leaders tried to decide the role and position of non-British immigrants in national life, the notion of Anglo-conformity continued to dominate their thinking. Although they saw non-British immigrants as necessary for national development, particularly in prairie agriculture and as unskilled labour, they hardly appreciated the culture and value systems brought from the old world.[1] The dilemma often caused controversy as to whether Canada should receive more immigrants from overseas. Many argued that additional immigrants were no longer necessary because of the large numbers who had already settled in Canada.[2] The urgency of assimilating the foreign population to British-Canadian norms and to educate "uncivilized" people is apparent in the work of James T.M. Anderson, appointed director of education for immigrants in Saskatchewan in 1918, and Robert England, who in the 1920s received a War Memorial Scholarship to teach in central European settlements in Saskatchewan for three years.[3] These educators did not always show hostility towards the new immigrants, but often stereotyped them from an outsider's point of view. They never doubted that they had the right to enlighten or Canadianize immigrants for their own good, justifying their attitudes towards "foreigners" in the name of "civilization." Their focus was usually on eastern Europeans, whom they thought would make suitable Canadians if educated properly, but few argued that racially visible peoples such as Orientals were assimilable. Yet Charles H. Young and Helen R.Y. Reid, who investigated the Japanese, presented a positive image, pointing out their contributions to the economy and culture and their Canadianization. While they used Anglo-Canadian standards of comparison, and saw the Japanese as racially unassimilable, their observations of the Japanese were much more objective than those of other Anglo-Canadians, who seldom saw non-whites as potential Canadians.[4]

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[1] Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in *Readings in Canadian History*, ed. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1990), 196. For a discussion of immigration from an economic perspective during the interwar period, see Charlotte Whitton, "The Immigration Problem for Canada," *Queen's Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (May 1924): 388-420; Duncan McArthur, "What is The Immigration Problem?" *Queen's Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (Autumn 1928): 603-613; Robert England, "British Immigration," *Queen's Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (Winter 1929): 131-144; and Robert England, "Continental Migration," *Queen's Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (Autumn 1929): 719-728.

[2] See, for example, Editorial, *Saturday Night*, 30 June 1928, 4; Editorial, *Saturday Night*, 19 January 1929, 4; A.S. Whiteley, "Can We Afford Immigration?" *Saturday Night*, 18 May 1929, 37, 44; A.D. Fraser, "A Quota System for Canada?" *Saturday Night*, 14 June 1930, 31, 38-39; E.C. Drury, "Our Population Problem - Two: Why We Are Not Getting More People," *Maclean's*, 15 September 1928, 3-5, 67; A.R.M. Lower, "Can Canada Do Without the Immigrant?" *Maclean's*, 1 June 1930, 3-4, 70-71; and "Immigration: Artificial Stimulation and Alternative," *Canadian Forum*, August 1924, 328-329.

[3] See James T. M. Anderson, *The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem* (Toronto & London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1918); Robert England, *The Central European Immigrant in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1929); and Robert England, *The Colonization of Western Canada: A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement, 1896-1934* (London: P.S. King & Son, 1936).

While the ideology of Anglo-conformity clearly dominated interwar attitudes, other concepts such as the melting pot and the mosaic also had supporters. Advocates of the melting pot thought that Canada could create a new cultural identity and new Canadian race by blending several "good" qualities of immigrants and by intermarriage between Anglo-Canadians and other people of European origin.[5] Howard Palmer argues, however, that the distinction between Anglo-conformity and the melting pot was not always clear, largely because in the Canadian context the concept of a melting pot was, like Anglo-conformity, often interpreted so as not to threaten the British value system, and rejected a genuine sharing of political, economic and social power.[6] For example, proponents adroitly selected who could participate in the creation of a "new" Canadian identity, drawing a line between new immigrants who kept their homeland traditions and culture, and the Canadian born who had more or less acquired British values. Historian A.R.M. Lower, for example, wrote in 1930 that "the newcomer has many difficulties that the native born does not have to face, and therefore for a greater or lesser period he is not as effective a citizen as is the native born." [7] J.T.M. Anderson also insisted that "it should never be expected that the older people will become 'true Canadians', and no attempt should be made to do what is an impossibility."[8] However, "their offspring" who were born "under the Union Jack" could be Canadians.[9] Selectivity in what would contribute to the creation of a new Canadian culture, and what would not, preserved the "good" elements from immigrants' traditions. An article advocating the concept of a melting pot emphasized the merits:

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[4] See, for example, Charles H. Young and Helen R.Y. Reid, *The Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1938), 171-193. For anti-Asian sentiment in British Columbia, see W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978); Patricia E. Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979); and Ann Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1981).

[5] For melting-pot ideas prevailing during the interwar period, see, for example, Sherwood W. Fox, "How the Melting-Pot Melts," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 32, ser. 3 (May 1938): 1; E.L. Chicanot, "Moulding A Nation," *Dalhousie Review* 9 (1929): 237; and Frederic Griffin, "Made to Measure," *Toronto Star Weekly*, 24 November 1928, 1.

> The blending of many races in a new environment, it is true, is producing a type of people different from the races from which they have sprung, but our people come from old racial stocks and inherit alike both the good and the weak qualities and characteristics of those races. . . Those who treasure the folklore, music, story and customs of their ancestors will have the greater wealth of culture.[10]

Obviously, this viewpoint differed from Anglo-conformity in that it admitted the cultural merits of peoples other than the British. The basic concept of excluding non-British groups from the country's political, economic, and power structures, however, did not change.

The emergence of the idea of a "mosaic" among Anglo-Canadians, even though it represented a minority voice, was important for its rejection of the notion that every nation and state were, or should be, homogeneous. Advocated by individuals such as Kate A. Foster, John Murray Gibbon and Watson Kirkconnell, it differed from both Anglo-conformity and the melting pot in its celebration of diversity which subsequently formed the basis of the present policy of multiculturalism. The content of the mosaic, however, was similar to that of the melting pot in picking up colourful and non-threatening cultural

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[6] Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts," 153.

[7] Lower, "Can Canada Do Without Immigrants?," 70.

[8] Anderson, *Education of the New Canadian*, 9.

[9] *Ibid.*, 55.

elements from what immigrants brought to Canada, without damaging Anglo-Canadian dominance in the political, economic, and social spheres. In general, advocates of the mosaic emphasized the superiority of British law and the British parliamentary system, while they saw other Canadians as good sources of folk culture.[11] John Murray Gibbon, for example, concentrated on both the folk and high cultures of Europeans - including music, food, poetry, and artefacts - in his 1938 study, *Canadian Mosaic*. The same selectivity was also apparent in Governor-General Lord Tweedsmuir's address to a Ukrainian gathering in 1936:

> You have accepted the duties and loyalties as you have acquired the privileges of Canadian citizens, but I want you also to remember your old Ukrainian traditions – your beautiful handicrafts, your folk songs, and dances and your folk legends. I do not believe that any people can be strong unless they remember and keep in touch with all their past. Your traditions are all valuable contributions towards our Canadian culture.[12]

The speech well reflects the Anglo-Canadian concept of a mosaic, suggesting that Ukrainians had to fulfil "duties and loyalties" to Canada, while they could maintain only their folk culture which did not affect power relations in a Canadian ethnic hierarchy.

Although Anglo-conformity, the melting pot, and the mosaic represent the principal trends in mainstream thinking during the interwar period, Canadian nation builders did not apply them equally to all ethnic or racial groups. They acknowledged the positive economic impact of European farmers, but hardly saw Asians as necessary once the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed. While anti-Asian sentiment in the prairie

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[10] "The New Canadian Festival: Some Facts and Fallacies Concerning the Growth of Population in Canada," *Country Guide*, 1 August 1928, 14, 17.

[11] See, for example, John M. Gibbon, "European Seeds in the Canadian Garden," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 17, sec. 2 (May 1923): 119-129; John M. Gibbon, *Canadian Mosaic; The Making of a Northern Nation* (Toronto; McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1938); Kate A. Foster, *Our Canadian Mosaic* (Toronto: Dominion Council of the YWCA, 1926); George Elmore Reaman, "Canadianization of the Foreign-Born," *Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, and Literature*, 54 (October 1922): 445-450; and L. Hamilton, "Foreigners in the Canadian West," *Dalhousie Review* 17 (1938): 448-460.

provinces was far more moderate than in British Columbia, people generally minimized their contributions to Canada, and argued that Asians could never be assimilated because of their racial visibility.[13] The solution, seen in the policies of the head tax imposed on the Chinese and quotas imposed on the Japanese, was to restrict Oriental immigration. Even advocates of the melting pot and the mosaic tended to exclude any Oriental contribution from their new Canadian identity. One article, which proposed the creation of a "Canadian race," argued: "Of course, some of these stocks might be excluded. For example, discrimination might be made against the non-white races, or the whites of non-British or non-French origin whose ancestors had not contracted a legal number of marriages with the basic stocks of the country."[14] While outlining the potential contribution of twenty nationalities in Europe to the Canadian mosaic, John Murray Gibbon also excluded Asians.

The notion of British superiority seen in a mainstream Anglo-Canadian urban elite was sometimes transmitted to the Opal/Maybridge settlement. It played a significant role in the formation of the local elite in the area, although certain conditions - such as face-to-face contacts and the Anglo-Canadian weakness in numbers - alleviated the normal ethnic hierarchy. Despite the fact that Ukrainians dominated the population, and the local British families were not at all better off economically than the rest, even being remembered as "poor farmers," the British were also recognized as forming a "cultural" elite.[15] For most of the period under discussion, individuals of British origin occupied the influential

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[12] Address by Lord Tweedsmuir, 21 September, 1936, cited in Gibbon, *Canadian Mosaic*, 307.

[13] For Albertan attitudes towards the Japanese, see Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 86-87.

[14] Burton Hurd, "Is There A Canadian Race?" *Queen's Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (Autumn 1928): 620.

[15] Edward Wachowich, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 9 November 1998.

positions of justice of the peace, postmaster, and registrar in the settlement.[16] They also had an advantage in language, which was perhaps the single most important skill. John Hawrelko explains: "One of the things that we learned very early was that you were not always equal to the English man." [17] This comments suggest a social line existed between privileged British settlers and others, as both Ukrainian and Japanese remember that their interchange with individuals of British origin was not frequent.[18] In the process, Ukrainians and Japanese in Opal/Maybridge seem to have drawn together and developed bonds as marginal groups.

The major institution which acted as a vehicle of mainstream ideologies and propaganda was the public school. Undoubtedly, schools in the Opal/Maybridge area experienced problems such as irregular attendance because of weather and farm labour, and a lack of both equipment and skilled teachers that were common on the frontier.[19] Local parents, for example, complained officially on occasion about teachers' lack of skills and cancellation of classes.[20] But the school still maintained its role as the institution which connected Opal/Maybridge to the rest of Canada, transmitting Anglo-Canadian values – and students were encouraged to attend "as regularly as possible."[21] Also, teachers usually came from outside the settlement during most of the interwar period, because special efforts were made to recruit individuals of British background, in part, presumably, because a few British individuals comprised the local school board.[22] John Hawrelko recalls a British neighbour, the chairman of the school board, talking to his father about a Ukrainian applicant. "Andrew," he reportedly said, "I don't really think that we will hire this man, because he doesn't speak the King's English very well."[23] It was not until the late 1930s that people of origins other than British started to be hired at Opal and Maybridge schools. The provincial school curriculum also emphasized the use of English, English literature and the history of the British empire. Curriculum changes, which attempted to teach local students about more immediately relevant subjects, such as Canadian history and local issues, were not made until the late 1930s when William Aberhart introduced extensive province-wide reforms in education.[24]

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[16] While exhaustive lists of justices of the peace, postmasters, and registrars do not exist in the Provincial Archives of Alberta, only British names can be identified. See Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Inquest Files from the General Administration Office of the Department of the Attorney General, 1910-1928, 167.172/1186 (Opal); Justice of the Peace Files From the Department of the Attorney General, 1894-1926, 69.210/1299, 2325, 2657 (Opal); and Justice of the Peace Files Index, 1897-1927, Department of the Attorney General, 31 July 1969, 69.210.

[17] John Hawrelko, interview by author, tape recording, Redwater, AB, 9 July 1998.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Studies of prairie communities indicate that schools on the frontier did not always function as their metropolitan counterparts in Canada, being affected by differences in physical, economic, and social conditions. See, for example, Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 176; and C.A. Dawson, *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1940), 182-186.

[20] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, "B.B. Etting to Chief Inspector of Schools," 18 November 1937, Opal School District, 79.334/911.

Supported by a British-oriented curriculum and the local school board, ideologically motivated Anglo-Canadian teachers taught local students with what both Ukrainian and Japanese informants recall as a sense of superiority. The influence of teachers was quite strong in those days since they were educated people to whom settlers showed respect; they also played a significant role in establishing the idea of British superiority in the district. The memoirs of a Ukrainian woman, Annie Woywitka (née Andruski), refer to a teacher reminding his students that they were not Canadian and insisting that "for a foreigner to become a Canadian, he had to be of the fifth generation."[25] Teasing ethnic children and making ill remarks about them by teachers also occurred in Opal/Maybridge classrooms, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s. An incident, which symbolizes the discrimination, is recalled by Josie Stepchuk:

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[21] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, "Chief Inspector of Schools to B.B. Etting," 30 November 1937, Opal School District, 79.334/911.

[22] The Opal and Maybridge schools seem to have been slower in hiring teachers of non-Anglo-Canadian origin than other centres in the Ukrainian bloc. For example, at least six Slavic teachers were appointed in Smoky Lake (approximately 80% Ukrainian) between 1919 and 1925, while Opal and Maybridge schools had none. Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Teachers' Index, 1919-1925, 75.502. Although the list of members of the Opal/Maybridge school boards is incomplete, only British names could be identified; Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Opal School District, Opal, 84.37/2154.

[23] Hawrelko, interview.

[24] Voisey, *Vulcan*, 180.

> One [British] boy, who was the teacher's son, would bother the children in the classroom. . . and on one occasion he even kicked a girl while he had his ice skates on. The children went to the teacher's shack to tell on the boy. The teacher didn't say much to the children, but the next day, the teacher and her husband came to the school. The man lectured the children on how they didn't know how to treat British people.[26]

Such blunt and overt prejudice decreased by the late 1930s while not completely disappearing. The major change seemed to come when local school trustees, whose number included a non-British settler, started to hire qualified teachers regardless of ethnic origin. With the appearance of local and "ethnic" teachers, the idea of respecting each other's backgrounds emerged as well. A local Polish teacher, for example, created a one-year Japanese history course on the grounds that Japanese children attended Opal school.[27] This indicates that the school in the district, whose primary role was to Canadianize children, did not always function as a mainstream assimilationist institution, and sometimes incorporated contrary local perspectives and reality into its activities. In addition, the local school board increasingly became involved in school reforms of its own to improve the educational environment. One of the projects begun by the trustees, and waited for with enthusiasm because the Opal school only had six books in its library, was to receive books from the University of Alberta every two weeks.[28] Opal school also expanded to two rooms in the 1930s, in response to local complaints that the existing building was too small.[29] The adjustment of Opal school to the multiethnic reality of the district and local demands suggests that the school gradually became transformed into a local community institution, reflecting parents' voices.

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[25] Annie Woywitka, "Bridging Two Worlds," unpublished memoirs, November 1985, personal collection of Josie Stepchuk, 54.

[26] Josie Stepchuk, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 21 August 1998.

[27] Edward Wachowich, interview.

[28] Stepchuk, interview.

While the school system carried Anglo-Canadian messages to Opal/Maybridge, the Great Depression, which started with the crash of the stock market in the United States in 1929 and became a world-wide phenomenon in the 1930s, had a somewhat different impact on the district compared to other parts of Canada, especially industrialized urban centres, in terms of ethnic relations. The shortage of jobs in Canadian cities encouraged nativist sentiments and strong prejudice against foreign workers, intensifying ethnic tensions in Canadian society. Immigrants' inability to speak English and lack of skills also became obstacles to finding employment.[30] The economic turmoil could be seen in the Opal/Maybridge area, and loomed large in informants' memories, but seldom caused tensions between Anglo-Canadians and others on the farm without competition over jobs. Rather, the Depression created a sense of common experience and struggle, especially in people's memories, challenging equally everyone in the district as well as other prairie farmers. The major hardship on the rural prairies was the dramatic drop in crop price because of the introduction of high tariffs by many nations, including Canada, which decreased international trade.[31] Crops had no economic value, giving rise to the scenarios described by William Barabash: "When the transaction was finished, my father owed the transportation company more than what he was paid for his crop."[32] In some cases, farmers had to sell their cattle to make up the expense. Others lost their farming equipment. "In the fall of 1932," James Kimura wrote in his memoirs,

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[29] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, "A. Schoffield to Inspector of Schools," 31 May 1933, Opal School District, 84.37/2154.

[30] Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts," 154-155.

[31] R. Douglas Francis, Richard Tones, and Donald A. Smith, *Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation*, 3rd. ed.(Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Company Canada, 1996), 261.

[32] William Barabash, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 24 October 1998.

> I remember so clear, dad was in the city to get an extension of payment till after harvest. While there they made him sign the seizure of equipment. By the time he came home the equipment was gone. A car load of men came into the yard. The sheriff, company man, and two others said they came after the machinery. I said, "You will have to wait till dad come home," so they showed me the release paper dad signed. I remember so clear they had taken all the equipment to Opal. The last equipment was the tractor and separator.[33]

While the drop in wheat price inflicted perhaps the most immediate economic damage on local farmers, the Social Credit government's policy on farm debt also affected small business owners in Opal, when farmers were unable to pay their bills. Allan Wachowich recalls: "The biggest problem was, of course, that my father ran the store and the Social Credit passed the moratorium. All the credits in the box were unpaid."[34] These problems, however, apparently did not cause conflict along ethnic lines, partly because people still grew enough food to feed their families. Memories of acute discomfort are absent, as people say: "I can't remember ever being hungry," or "We didn't have luxuries, but we did have our vegetables."[35] Recollections of the Depression in Opal/Maybridge do not reflect the ethnic hostilities found in urban centres; rather, people's shared hardship contributed to the creation of collective social memory in the district, characterized by a sense of sameness and uniformity.

At the same time as a large-scale economic crisis and attitudes on the part of the host society determined the environment within which crystallizing ethnic elites in major urban centres launched their political activities, the latter not only responded to mainstream ideologies and phenomena but also offered their own vision of how their people should relate to both Canada and the ethnic group. One purpose of ethnic elites was to gain political and socioeconomic recognition in Canadian society as fellow citizens. But because of their uncompetitiveness and the discrimination they faced, this goal could only be achieved by elevating, uniting, mobilizing, and leading their people in a form acceptable to mainstream Anglo-Canadian society.[36] It was only natural, then, that the messages of Ukrainian and Japanese activists - delivered through public lectures, a variety of organizations, and newspapers - often paralleled many mainstream sentiments. However, it should also be noted that Ukrainian and Japanese leaders did not always react to Anglo-conformity, the melting pot, and the mosaic in the same way as either the Anglo-Canadian mainstream or each other. Differences between these two ethnic groups, and internal divisions within them, determined which concept was most acceptable and expedient.

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[33] James Kimura, "Life and Times of a Young Japanese Immigrant," unpublished memoirs, n.d., personal collection of Chizuko Kimura.

[34] Allan Wachowich, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 16 November 1998.

In general, Ukrainian and Japanese elites rejected the notion of Anglo-conformity, which did not allow them to maintain their ethnic identity and assumed Anglo-Canadian superiority in the economic, political, and social spheres. Nevertheless, in the interests of "progress," ethnic elites tried to adopt what they valued and needed from Anglo-Canadians, such as education, materialism, and ideals of democracy. What they meant by "progress" was the elimination of their backward image and second-class status connected with their ethnic origins in order to participate equally in all aspects of Canadian society – without, however, sacrificing their Ukrainian and Japanese identities. They thought that education and North American technology, which meant abolishing impractical beliefs, customs, and superstitions, would preserve their ethnic consciousness while modernizing where necessary for upward mobility. Both Ukrainian and Japanese leaders called for the

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[35] Barabash, interview; and Florence Shikaze, interview by author, Edmonton, AB, 15 June 1998.

[36] Karl Peter, "The Myth of Multiculturalism and Other Political Fables," in *Ethnicity, Power, and Politics in Canada,* ed. Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1981), 56-67.

necessity of ethnic organizations which offered concrete programs and activities in order to promote their culture and ethnic identity, create a base of collective power, and come to understand political goals.[37] They urged their respective peoples to catch up with the "English" and conform to Anglo-Canadian norms, criticizing "unenlightened" behaviour and cultural practices as primary causes of prejudice and discrimination. An article in *Ukrainskyi holos*, for example, argued that Ukrainians never ran out of alcohol at home, yet their children went barefoot and wore dirty clothing.[38] In their press, Japanese leaders lamented that their people were "greedy," "slave-like," "insensitive," and "uneducated."[39] As a solution, both Ukrainian and Japanese leaders strongly recommended education, encouraging young people, particularly the second generation, to go to school, obtain higher education, and adopt the ideals of democracy and materialism which could offer them equal treatment in Canada.[40] In this process, ethnic leaders were understood by themselves and others to have a great duty as their people's "servants" to guide and encourage them, which strengthened their status in the Ukrainian and Japanese communities.[41]

The strong emphasis on the necessity of education seemed to reach settlers in the Opal/Maybridge area. Informants indicate that many parents believed that attending school was most important for their children's future in Canada, despite the fact that many Ukrainians and Japanese did not receive high school education. John Hawrelko explains:

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[37] See, for example, *Tairiku Nippo*, 20 October 1929, 5; 21 June 1930, 4; 1 January 1932, 1; 29 September 1934, 2; 31 October 1934, 3; 1 November 1934, 8; 26 October 1935, 4; 1 October 1936, 3; and *Ukrainskyi holos*, 11 August 1926, 32; 28 January 1931, 4; 15 January 1936, 5.

[38] *Ukrainskyi holos*, 20 June 1928, 25.

[39] *Tairiku Nippo*, 9 July 1920, 1; 9 September 1920, 1; 10 September 1920, 1; 8 April 1923, 1; 9 April 1923, 1.

[40] See, for example, *ibid.*, 25 November 1919, 1; 24 April 1920, 1; 17 December 1921, 3; and *Ukrainskyi holos*, 22 July 1919, 30; 22 April 1925, 16; 11 August 1926, 32.

[41] *Ukrainskyi holos*, 3 February 1926, 5.

"For the Ukrainians, in particular, education was the only real hope. I think it was typical of original settlers, including the Japanese."[42] Some parents tried to send their children to high school, but they did not always succeed. "My mother wanted me to continue school," James Kimura wrote in his memoirs, "but I quit."[43] One obstacle was that the district itself did not have a high school, and it was a hardship to go to other surrounding centres, especially without transportation or the money to board. William Barabash and Lucy Takahashi note that instead of sending their children to nearby places, their parents decided to leave the area entirely and move to Edmonton so that their children could secure higher education and find better jobs.[44]

While Ukrainian and Japanese elites, in general, rejected the idea of Anglo-conformity, which always embraced the superiority of Anglo-Canadians, some of them liked the notion of a new "Canadian race" as it gave their groups a purpose and validity alongside the British and French population. Their concepts of a melting pot were similar to the Anglo-Canadian vision with respect to the creation of a new people, blending their many heritages, but the Japanese idea differed from the other two in its inclusion of Asians. The Ukrainian elite, like Anglo-Canadian leaders, seems to have excluded Asians. For example, the New Canadian movement they supported, including New Canadians' Allegiance Day, intended to celebrate the contribution of "all" new Canadians but included only selected European nationalities.[45] In general, both Ukrainians and Japanese had political purposes other than the creation of a new Canadian identity in promoting the melting pot. While Anglo-Canadian leaders gave the term "melting pot" a meaning very close to "Anglo-conformity," ethnics' definition differed significantly in claiming their rights as people who had already become part of Canada, contributing to its material wealth and cultural richness, and who did not deserve the status of "foreigners." In other words, they sought political and socioeconomic integration, but they did not want to lose their ethnic identity to the extent that they could not be distinguished from Anglo-Canadians. The sense of belonging and of right to belong was expressed by the adoption of the term "new Canadians" on the part of many ethnic groups, and in the 1930s both Ukrainian nationalists and Japanese *nisei* separately published newspapers entitled *New Canadian*. The Ukrainian publication explained its philosophy as follows:

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[42] Hawrelko, interview.

[43] James Kimura, memoirs.

[44] Barabash, interview; and Lucy Takahashi, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 6 July 1998. See also Shikaze and Allan Wachowich interviews.

[45] *New Canadian* (Toronto edition, Ukrainian), 1 June 1938, 1.

> Should there be any barriers dividing the two classes of Canadians, our paper will do its most to remove them! Should any gap of racial prejudice and ignorance exist between the New Canadians and the British Canadians, then our publication will span it with a better understanding and cement it with the sprit of friendship. After all, we all are striving to be good and loyal citizens of Canada, all contributing to the making of a Canadian nation and enriching its culture with the gifts from the inherited treasuries of many a nation.[46]

Not surprisingly, the Japanese newspaper made a similar statement:

> To the future greatness of Canada and the part of the Canadian born Japanese, in this future we pledge our sincere effort and endeavour. ... we ask that he share the vision that fires us, gird his loins with courage, and fight on till we are recognized as worthy citizens in the national life of the country of our birth - Canada.[47]

This idea seemed to be particularly consistent with the interwar *nisei* cause, offering a new meaning and identity to the Canadian-born generation which could not completely identify with either Anglo-Canadians or their own ethnic/racial group. Because of their birth in Canada, the *nisei* basically wanted assimilation or integration into Canadian society, but they could not change their physical features or easily escape the Japanese community and control by the *issei*. At the same time, the mainstream society saw few differences between immigrant and Canadian-born generations of Japanese in terms of political and related rights. Young *nisei* leaders, for their part, were always searching for an identity different from the *issei* who, they thought, were creating a negative image of the Japanese community, adhering to their old traditions.

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[46] *Ibid.*, 2 December 1937, 1.

[47] *New Canadian* (Vancouver edition, Japanese), 15 August 1939, 1.

Conforming to Anglo-Canadian standards, or claiming collective rights as new Canadians, however, did not always represent or satisfy specific ethnic goals. By the 1920s, both Ukrainian and Japanese ethnic groups had already developed their own set of interests, which, unsurprisingly, often created internal divisions. Ukrainian nationalists, for example, insisted on maintaining their language and ethnic consciousness in Canada, rather than become simply "Canadians," in large part because of their people's statelessness and oppression in Europe. Similarly, Japanese *issei*, who still had strong roots in Japan, could not easily forget their homeland. Therefore, both they and Ukrainian nationalists searched for a way to fulfil two contradictory purposes, continued identification with the homeland and participation in Canadian society. In the world views of Ukrainian nationalists and Japanese *issei*, the idea of a mosaic as understood by Anglo-Canadians found favour, providing good grounds for them to take part in Canadian society without losing their ethnicity. The mosaic did not seem to attract Japanese *nisei*, who always suffered from unwanted racial visibility, or Ukrainian communists, who identified first with the international proletariat rather than nationality.

There was, however, always a difference between Anglo-Canadians and other ethnic groups in their definition of "mosaic." While the former were interested only in the cultural merits of the latter, ethnic elites interpreted the notion of a mosaic politically as well. For ethnic leaders, the mosaic meant the retention or even revival of ethnicity, including not only political rights in Canada but also loyalty to their respective homelands. Immigrants' traditional culture was thus regarded as a symbol of national distinction or pride and as a significant part of their Canadian identity. Ukrainian nationalists argued that every ethnic group which contributed to the Canadian mosaic, deserved "recognition" and "respect" in Canada at the same time as it was also obliged to "know and enrich" its own culture.[48] They criticized the great majority of Ukrainians in Canada, whom they claimed were ignorant of their heritage, and insisted that "genuine Ukrainians" were always conscious of their origins.[49] In 1937 *Ukrainskyi holos* quoted Lord Tweedsmuir's remark, "You will all be better Canadians for being also good Ukrainians," adding that "Canada does not need national traitors" who abandon their own countries.[50] Despite the fact that Tweedsmuir only mentioned innocuous cultural contributions, his speech was interpreted as giving Ukrainians permission, even telling them, to maintain in their daily lives all those elements the nationalist elite saw as an important part of their ethnic identity and distinctiveness.[51] Similarly, the Japanese *issei* saw the concept of a mosaic as useful in appealing to their people's ethnic pride without sparking anti-Japanese sentiments. Although Anglo-Canadian nation builders generally had negative attitudes towards Asian immigrants, Japanese leaders adroitly picked up Anglo-Canadian statements applauding Japanese foods, folk songs, and kimono (clothing).[52] They argued that "Canada as a new country needs old traditions," and thus "retaining and enriching Japanese culture would, after all, contribute to Canadian culture."[53] Unlike the Ukrainians, the Japanese did not need to fight for national survival, but the concept of a mosaic was valued by the *issei* as a stop to the decline of Japanese consciousness among the *nisei*, offering them an important role as a bridge between Japan and Canada. The *issei* saw the complete loss of the Japanese spirit, the so-called *Yamato-damashi*, as embarrassing.[54] Educational problems, which they labelled the "*nisei* issue," became an everyday topic among *issei* intellectuals. *Nisei* students were strongly encouraged to study in Japan, to acquire the Japanese way of thinking, and to practise traditional customs, because all three would also make them good Canadian citizens.[55]

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[48] *Ukrainskyi holos*, 12 February 1936, 7.

[49] *Ibid.*, 13 June 1928, 24.

[50] *Ibid.*, 21 July 1937, 29; see also 5 February 1936, 6.

[51] Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 159.

[52] *Tairiku Nippo*, 24 November 1919, 5; 12 April 1920, 3; 24 June 1925, 3.

[53] *Ibid.*, 1 October 1925, 5.

At the same time as they supported the idea of a mosaic, Ukrainian nationalists and Japanese *issei* searched for other ways to demonstrate their achievements in Canada – a sign that they had already established roots in the new land. Although the mosaic offered them a chance to express their contribution as ethnic groups, it was obvious that the Anglo-Canadian interpretation, which only celebrated cultural diversity, was not enough, and they still faced problems in obtaining full recognition in Canadian political life. Ukrainian nationalists, for example, frustrated by the conviction that they were not competitive in elections, often called for unity around talented candidates with "higher education and intellect."[56] Japanese *issei*, on the other hand, always faced the fact that they had no voice at all, because the great majority of Japanese did not have the franchise. The strategy which these two ethnic elites adopted to cope with and hopefully change the situation was to demonstrate how they were part of Canadian history, setting down roots and discharging their duties alongside the British and French in Canada. Their role in nation building, particularly their participation in the Great War and western economic development, they thought, demonstrated their contributions as concrete fact, not rhetoric.[57] Both Ukrainian nationalist and Japanese *issei* newspapers, for example, publicized the soldiers who fought

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[54] See, for example, *ibid.*, 11 February 1931, 1; 4 March 1935, 3; 25 January 1938, 3.

[55] *Ibid.*, 13 February 1928, 1; 2 March 1935, 3; 4 March 1935, 3.

[56] *Ukrainskyi holos*, 30 September 1925, 39.

[57] For the various strategies taken by ethnic elites to assert their rights in Canada, particularly after World War II, see, for example, Frances Swyripa, "Ethnic Loyalists and Selkirk Settlers: Ukrainians Rewrite Canadian History" (paper presented at the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association Biennial Conference, Winnipeg, Manitoba, October 1991); and Franca Iacovetta, "Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities, and Defiant Domestics: Writing about Immigrants in Canadian Historical Scholarship," *Labour/Le Travail* 36 (Fall 1995): 217-252.

in the Canadian army during World War I.[58] In the 1930s, they began to feature their respective founding stories, particularly in conjunction with major anniversaries of settlement. Ukrainian nationalists described the hard lives of homesteaders on the prairies as evidence of Ukrainians' contribution to Canadian nation building, while Japanese *issei* argued that Japanese people had founded fishing villages and farms in British Columbia and become an active part of the Vancouver economy.[59] In this way, participation in the common Canadian experience, coupled with roots in specific places such as the prairies and British Columbia, which emphasized the "Canadian" side of Ukrainian and Japanese identity, were publicized alongside their ethnicity.

Although political strategies based on ethnic contributions helped reduce negative images of ethnic groups, Japanese immigrants could not easily erase overwhelming anti-Japanese prejudices stemming from their colour. In other words, the racial issue always had to be treated independently. Given the fact that Japanese national authority via the consulate or the Anglo-Japanese alliance hardly secured their status in Canada or even moderated discrimination, the Japanese elite saw the notion which regarded the white race as superior as a major problem, and had to deal with racism alongside ethnicity.[60] Because race was basically different from nationality or ethnicity, Japanese spokespersons needed to find other answers to the notion of "the Yellow Peril." The desire to be white produced a number of racial myths. Evoking scholarly works, some argued that the Japanese race, originating in the northern part of Japan, was considered to be "the white race."[61] Others held that "the Canadian environment changed people's appearance" and thus "physical assimilation" was not impossible.[62] Yet others insisted that "no intellectual differences can be identified between the white and the yellow."[63] Japanese Canadians also found their racial roots in Canada, arguing that "the native population" had descended from Asian immigrants.[64]

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[58] *Tairiku Nippo*, 20 March 1920, 1; 10 December 1931, 1; and *Ukrainskyi holos*, 13 August 1919, 33; 10 May 1922, 19; 5 November 1941, 45.

[59] For example, *Tairiku Nippo* started to publish the pioneer story on Steveston on 10 July 1931. See also, *ibid.*, 1 January 1936, 1, 4; and *Ukrainskyi holos*, 19 February 1919, 8; 3 August 1927, 31; 30 July 1930, 5; 12 December 1931, 52.

[60] For anti-Japanese sentiment, see, for example, Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 91-117.

[61] See, for example, *Tairiku Nippo*, 15 August 1921, 4; 3 January 1929, 1; 29 October 1929, 3.

The political messages of Ukrainian and Japanese elites reached Opal/Maybridge through ethnic newspapers, sporadic lectures, and a few organizational initiatives. It must be also stressed that there were great differences in the extent to which Ukrainians and Japanese received such messages. Settled on the western edge of the largest Ukrainian colony in Canada, Ukrainians in the Opal/Maybridge area were easily targeted by a distant urban elite. The Japanese families in the district, in contrast, were remote from the great majority of their fellow Japanese. Geographical remoteness from the ethnic heartland along the West Coast and small numbers became serious barriers to including the Opal/Maybridge Japanese in the larger Japanese-Canadian community. Although physical distance and their small population made local Japanese families less important psychologically, the *issei* elite in Vancouver still considered Japanese elsewhere as "their" people, and in 1922 sent a delegate to find them; he identified the Kimuras, Nakamuras, and Watanabes in Edmonton, and the Yamauchis in Opal.[65] *Tairiku Nippo* of 1 March 1923 also insisted that all Japanese should participate in Japanese cooperatives so that they could increase their collective power. In addition, while Ukrainians possessed their own reading club in Opal, the Japanese settlers had no formal ethnic activities. In this sense, local Ukrainians constituted a natural part of a coalescing national Ukrainian community, particularly in the elite's mind, but the Japanese families were only marginal to their British Columbia-focused community, and often excluded from collective Japanese-Canadian memory.[66]

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[62] *Ibid.*, 10 June 1920, 3.

[63] *Ibid.*, 14 August 1928, 4; 14 February, 1931, 5.

[64] *Ibid.*, 11 March 1923, 4; 10 November, 1923, 5.

[65] *Ibid.*, 16 February 1922, 1.

Despite the difference between the Ukrainian and Japanese situations, connections between their respective urban centres and Opal/Maybridge helped incorporate local residents into larger ethnic communities. While Ukrainian and Japanese settlers in the district developed a sense of community based on geographical place and personal or formal interaction, ethnicity, as a political phenomenon, sometimes drew lines between them. All this does not mean, however, that Ukrainians and Japanese in Opal/Maybridge shared either the political interests or the tensions of their respective elites. Because they were not always actively part of the larger ethnic community, or aware of the complications of both international and domestic political situations, divisions imported from the outside could be simplified or blurred. The Ukrainian reading hall, for example, was pro-communist during the 1920s, and perhaps boasted the only distinctive political label in the Opal/Maybridge settlement. It invited speakers once or twice a year, showed movies, and staged dramas, which usually carried the typical communist propaganda that "working people of the world" should unite.[67] Therefore, every Ukrainian activity was sometimes regarded as somewhat suspicious, and the Ukrainian hall at Opal was once inspected by the police.[68] Local Ukrainians, however, did not always grasp or accept the ideological propaganda and goals of communist leaders. As John Hawrelko remembers, people rather understood the message to be "we are all equal," and hardly identified themselves as communists, regarding hall activities such as poetry readings, plays, and concerts as education or entertainment. Josie Stepchuk also suggests that her father, who was involved in the Ukrainian hall from the outset, was never an active communist.[69] Still, the local Ukrainian settlers who erected the Opal hall were labelled communists by other settlers.[70] Although the Japanese in Opal/Maybridge did not have organized political activities, it does not mean that they were totally isolated from Japanese political issues or influences. For example, in 1938 *Tairiku Nippo* called for the registration of all Japanese in Canada so that the newspaper could identify individuals not only in British Columbia but also in other provinces, and send them messages. During the 1930s, Opal/Maybridge was visited by members of the Japanese intelligentsia, including the president of the Agricultural Association of Japan, Jiro Kumagaya, who came to inspect Japanese farming life in Canada.[71] In another case, the Japanese in Opal/Maybridge collected donations for the great Kanto earthquake of 1923, to help Japanese victims whom they never saw.[72] These activities were quite limited, but they both acknowledged the Japanese presence in the area and encouraged a Japanese ethnic consciousness, as people recall "a sense of community" that existed among the settlers.

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[66] Yoko Urata Nakahara, who investigated ethnic identity among pre-World War II Japanese immigrants (including those who settled in Alberta after the war) and their descendents based on questionnaires in Edmonton in 1988, suggests that ethnic identity generally declined. She points out the difference between highly and less educated people. While highly educated people had less access to traditional Japanese culture such as food, art, language, and martial arts than those with less education, they were more ethnically conscious. See her "Ethnic Identity Among Japanese Canadians in Edmonton: The Case of Pre-World War II Immigrants and Their Descendants" (Ph.D. diss. University of Alberta, 1991).

[67] Hawrelko, interview.

[68] Stepchuk, interview.

Events in contemporary Ukraine and Japan were always of great interest to Ukrainian and Japanese elites in Canada, particularly Ukrainian nationalists who strove for the liberation of Ukrainian lands from Soviet and Polish control especially, and Japanese

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[69] *Ibid.*

[70] Hawrelko, interview.

[71] Chizuko Kimura, interview by author, tape recording, Redwater, AB, 25 June 1998. While his visit was recorded only in a picture taken on Kimura's farm, an agricultural technician by the name of Jiro Kumagaya can be identified in Iwate prefecture in northern Japan; he was also a member of the board of directors in prefectural agricultural cooperation (see Nihon tosho senta, *Shouwa Jinmei Jiten*, Vol. 2, Tokyo: Nihon tosho senta, 1987, Iwate 7).

[72] Takahashi, interview.

issei who still regarded themselves as part of the Japanese empire. The attitudes of these two circles towards their respective homelands played an important role both in providing them with great causes and points of identification and in determining the mental boundaries of "community" through obligation and loyalty to countries other than Canada. The resulting politicized Ukrainian and Japanese identities existed alongside a multitude of informal and personal ties which people maintained with their homelands. Ukrainian nationalist and *issei* attitudes also drew a line between themselves and Ukrainian communists and the *nisei*. On the grounds that Ukrainian Canadians had an "obligation" to help their homeland, Ukrainian nationalists rejected ideological "diversity among Ukrainian Canadians" as undesirable. And because "blood origins" and not interests determined this obligation, individuals concerned only with their lives in the new land or the class struggle like the communists were regarded as outsiders to the ethnic community.[73] A strong attachment to their homeland also gave Japanese *issei* a different perspective from other ethnic groups and the *nisei*, building on a common feeling that Japanese emigrants were part of a world-wide Japanese empire. The *issei* elite reminded their people of their ties with and duties to Japan. As Japan became increasingly imperialistic in the late 1930s, expanding its territories and international role, a "Japanese spirit" and "loyalty to the Japanese emperor" were considered significant elements of belonging to the Japanese community.[74]

Ukrainian and Japanese settlers in the Opal/Maybridge area did not exhibit the same politicized vision of their homelands as their respective elites, yet they maintained personal contacts and roots in their places of origin. There was also a difference between Ukrainian and Japanese people in the district in terms of a sense of belonging to Canada or the old country. Because of their marginal political, social and economic role in Canada, and the relatively short distance between Canada and Japan, Japan was still a part of life for the Japanese immigrants. According to Florence Shikaze, the Japanese in Opal/Maybridge called Japan the "mother country. They were very loyal and they felt much part of it."[75] Many thought that their stay in Canada was temporary. "Papa [her husband] and I had promised Father we would return in three years' time to take up our family duties," Mary Kiyoshi Kiyooka stated in her memoirs, "but things just didn't work out. I know Papa felt badly about that broken promise even though he had long ago made up his mind to become a Canadian."[76] A sojourner mentality could also be seen in the common practice of leaving one's children or sometimes wives in Japan. For example, Harry and Mary Kiyooka and Toyomatsu and Kuni Kimura left their oldest children in the care of their parents in Japan, because they were busy working and moving around in Canada; Kimuras' child never joined his parents, while Kiyookas' daughter came to Canada after World War II.[77] Ukrainian settlers seem to have developed local or "Canadian" roots more quickly than the Japanese. Because they usually immigrated as family units or groups of villagers, and because few had any intention of going back to the homeland, Ukrainians' identification with their ancestral villages was not as sharp or sustained.[78] Looking back, William Barabash says that contacts with their former countrymen soon died out; a high illiteracy rate making letter writing difficult, and the absence of common topics or interests, were the reasons. Barabash also claims that between the wars local Ukrainian settlers tended not to identify themselves with a specific nationality.[79]

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[73] *Ukrainskyi holos*, 19 January 1921, 3; 10 August 1921, 32; 27 June 1928, 26.

[74] *Tairiku Nippo*, 1 January 1935, 1; 1 January 1936, 1; 1 January 1938, 1.

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[75] Shikaze, interview.

[76] Roy Kiyooka, *Mothertalk: Life Stories of Mary Kiyoshi Kiyooka*, ed. Daphne Marlatt (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1997), 114.

[77] *Ibid.*, 141; and Chizuko Kimura, interview.

[78] Hawrelko, interview.

[79] Barabash, interview.

The Ukrainians and Japanese at Opal/Maybridge also inhabited distinctive religious worlds that simultaneously created local divisions along ethnic lines and absorbed the settlers into "imagined" spaces linking them with co-religionists elsewhere. Religious boundaries often overlapped with ethnicity, as the local Roman Catholic church was erected by Polish families, but not exclusively identified with it, and the Presbyterian church had a predominantly British congregation. Although neither Ukrainians nor Japanese had their own religious institutions in the immediate area, which reduced contacts with their religious leadership and weakened cohesiveness to a certain extent, the settlers by and large retained their religious identifications. For example, even those Japanese families such as the Nishimotos and Yamauchis who converted to Roman Catholicism for practical reasons still adhered to their traditional Shinto beliefs and did not change inside. Her parents, Lucy Takahashi contends, "were more or less forced into it [Catholicism] because they were in a Roman Catholic settlement. It was for necessity, because they were restricted from a lot of things."[80] Florence Shikaze describes how her mother turned to the comfort of Shintoism when her older brother had a serious accident:

> He was kicked in the back of his head by a little colt, a little horse, so he went into a coma. And, of course, there was no doctor as well, so they looked after him as best as they could. Mr. Watanabe said he must have been kicked in the motor part of his head, because he could not walk and could not move really. So what my mother had done was - I don't know if you have heard of it, but in Japan they said that when you hit rock bottom, women cut their hair - she washed the hair and then wrapped it up and sent it to the shrine in Japan. When my father came home, she said, "Would you send this to Japan?" She had her head covered with what we used to call a dust cap. He said "Oh." He couldn't say anything. He sent it. Did you hear what else they do? In the darkest part of the night, you went to the well, took three buckets of water, and poured it over any part of your head. She did that for twenty-one days. And she said that there were nights when it was so dark, all of a sudden you just bumped against it [the well]. And there was a night when the moon was so bright, in the full moon, she was afraid that somebody would see her. She fulfilled her belief and before long my brother did get up and walk with no ill effects or brain damage.[81]

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[80] Takahashi, interview.

[81] Shikaze, interview.

Florence Shikaze's story shows that her mother not only maintained her faith and her strong ties with the shrine in Japan, but also was slightly self-conscious about rituals outsiders might not understand or appreciate. The Kimura family also kept personal connections with Buddhist churches in both British Columbia and Japan.[82] For example, they obtained a *homyo* (Buddhist name for a dead person which usually changes after death), still kept in the shrine on the Kimura farm in 1999, from the Buddhist church in British Columbia whenever family members passed away.[83] They also made donations to the Steveston church "in spite of their hardship" on the farm.[84] Because Buddhism and Shintoism did not put as much emphasis on worshipping communally as Christianity did, their adherents in Opal/Maybridge did not necessarily need a sacred place in the area. As Frank Kimura recalls, "they had church services at home. They had shrines at home."[85]

Similarly, Ukrainians tended to identify with their own faiths, Ukrainian Catholicism and Greek Orthodoxy. While some Ukrainians attended Roman Catholic services, many others, whether Catholic or Orthodox, preferred going to Eastern-rite churches in surrounding centres, such as the Russian Orthodox church at Eastgate and the Ukrainian Catholic churches at Waugh and Egremont. Language, the official split between Roman and Greek Catholics, and differences in rite or form seem to have kept many Ukrainians away from the Roman Catholic church. For example, John Hawrelko recalls his father going to the Russian Orthodox church even though he was Ukrainian Catholic. Josie Stepchuk also remembers a Roman Catholic priest who preached that "you were better than others, ours were better than yours." Ukrainian dissatisfaction with the Roman Catholic church, on the grounds that it only did "spiritual teaching" and did not "help" people, is corroborated by the instance in which the local Roman Catholic priest refused to bury a Japanese boy in his cemetery. In addition, the money which they had to pay for priests tended to determine who were welcomed to church services.[86] The Ukrainian settlers in the district, without their own churches, tended to seek out surrounding Eastern-rite churches over unfamiliar Roman Catholic practices, developing a sense of ethno-religious community and circles of friends beyond the local settlement.

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[82] Chizuko Kimura, interview.

[83] *Homyo*, Fairview Buddhist Church, 6 October, 1939, personal collection of Chizuko Kimura.

[84] Chizuko Kimura, interview.

[85] Frank Kimura, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 11 July 1998.

Mainstream political concerns and ideologies often determined the role Ukrainian and Japanese groups were destined to play in Canadian society. While the dominance of Anglo-conformity throughout the interwar period forced the leadership of both groups to reconcile themselves to the status of second-class citizens, they simultaneously adopted a variety of strategies to promote or to achieve their own goals. But whether the objective was full participation in Canadian society and/or involvement in homeland politics, they needed to unite their respective peoples around shared duties and loyalties. As the Opal/Maybridge example shows, the campaign to involve the grassroots in their agenda had limited success. Neither Ukrainian nor Japanese settlers necessarily shared the political interests or biases of their leaders, and geographical remoteness often prevented the messages of an urban elite from reaching rural settlements. As a result, tensions and hostility based on ethnicity, or ethnicity augmented by religion, were relatively moderate in Opal/Maybridge. Nevertheless, to a greater or lesser degree, local Ukrainians and Japanese were incorporated into larger ethnic communities and mental spaces that existed outside the narrow world in which they lived.

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[86] Stepchuk, interview.

Chapter 5

Test of Loyalty and Identity: Ukrainian and Japanese Canadians during World War II

Special or unprecedented events can have a profound impact on how immigrant groups, ethnic communities, and the host society perceive and interact with each other. The Second World War proved to be a time of uncertainty and a test of loyalty for both Japanese and Ukrainians at elite and grassroots levels. Moreover, regardless of where they lived, including rural Alberta, members of each group were forced to reconsider or at least to think about their roles as Canadians. At the same time, the war and its aftermath transformed the social and economic structures of the Opal/Maybridge area. This chapter examines how the war years changed the political and social atmosphere in which the Japanese and Ukrainian elites maneuvered and how they affected the relatively good relationship between Ukrainians and Japanese in Opal/Maybridge established during the interwar period. At the elite level, Ukrainian nationalist, and after June 1941 pro-communist, leaders tried to demonstrate their support of Canada's war effort to destroy any suspicions of disloyalty, while the Japanese did not have many ways to cope with or counter intensifying discrimination once they became Enemy Aliens. But the war ultimately also gave momentum to the Japanese in seeking citizenship rights in Canadian society, assuring the ideals of democracy. At the grassroots level in Opal/Maybridge, according to informants, local collective memory, previous close relations created among neighbours, and the necessity of interaction to survive and build a community on the frontier tended to eliminate many potential wartime difficulties. Yet the war also tended to draw lines between Ukrainians and Japanese settlers, as Japan became a symbol of evil.

During World War II, the fate of Ukrainian and Japanese Canadians at both elite and grassroots levels was always controlled by the international situation and the actions of Canadian authorities. In September 1939, led by Liberal Prime Minister Mackenzie King, Canada supported Great Britain, the mother country, and declared war on Germany. The federal government's subsequent policies and propaganda to unite the diverse peoples of Canada behind the war effort drew attention to the "foreign element" in the country, particularly those groups whose homelands became Canada's enemies or which at some point had expressed Nazi or fascist sympathies.[1] Given the fact that the Canadian government did not widely intern German Canadians except for some eight hundred individuals who were regarded as pro-Nazi, however, the mainstream war regime showed a certain racial or ethnic bias.[2] Under such circumstances Ukrainians and Japanese came under close scrutiny.

Ukrainian Canadians entered the war carrying the scars of large-scale internment a quarter of a century earlier, although only communist sympathizers were incarcerated in 1939. Complicating the Ukrainian situation were the sharp internal divisions between communists and nationalists and the interwar activities of some of the latter. Initially, mainstream society regarded the Ukrainian-Canadian communists, who opposed Canada's participation in the war because of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact, as enemies. The halls of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association were confiscated and many of its leaders arrested. Nationalist Ukrainians, on the other hand, confronted a major dilemma in 1941, when the hated Soviet Union became a British ally, and their communist rivals suddenly became full and welcomed supporters of the war.[3] In addition, nationalists' position during the war was somewhat vulnerable, because they often saw the war as a great opportunity to redraw national boundaries in Europe and recreate a Ukrainian state, and some of them regarded Hitler as capable of doing so. Mainstream concerns as to nationalist loyalties were raised particularly by the activities the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) during the interwar period, which were often labelled as anti-semitic, pro-Hitler, and fascist, although some mainstream activists such as academic Watson Kirkconnell tried to defend the UNF, arguing that most Ukrainian Canadians were organized "not primarily as Ukrainians and but as Canadian citizens in support of the war effort," and "that support has been loyally and generously given."[4] Nationalists grouped around the newly formed non-communist umbrella organization, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (1940), also confronted another dilemma, when many rural Ukrainian districts did not respond to their Canadian war propaganda and exhortations and voted against conscription. Successive setbacks led nationalist leaders to stress their people's support for "Canada's" war and to promote a unanimous image of nationalist Ukrainians as loyal citizens despite their inner ideological diversity.

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[1] For an example of government projects, see Watson Kirkconnell, *Canadians All* (Ottawa: Minister of National War Service, 1941); and Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan, and Lubomyr Luciuk, eds., *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1988).

[2] Hillmer, Kordan, and Luciuk, *On Guard for Thee*, 55.

[3] See Thomas M. Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988).

While wartime reactions to Ukrainian Canadians were largely dictated by ethnic group politics, attitudes towards the Japanese crystallized in conjunction with international developments and showed a slight difference between residents of British Columbia and the rest of Canada. In general, the mainstream press outside British Columbia expressed little interest in the Japanese issue at the beginning of the war. Japan's alliance with the Axis powers in 1940 intensified anti-Japanese feelings, especially in British Columbia, where newspapers engaged in racist propaganda, focusing on both the need for self-defense and disloyalty among the province's Japanese.[5] Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in

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[4] Watson Kirkconnell, *Our Ukrainian Loyalists* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1943), 4; see also his *Our Communists and the New Canadians* (Toronto: Southam Press, 1943), and *Seven Pillars of Freedom: An Exposure of the Soviet World Conspiracy and its Fifth Column in Canada* (Toronto: Burns and MaEachern, 1944).

[5] See, for example, Patricia E. Roy, J.L. Granatstein, Masako Iino, and Hiroko Takamura, *Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese during the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); and W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular*

December 1941 sealed their fate as Enemy Aliens without any distinction being made between *issei* and *nisei*. As soon as Canada declared war against Japan, all Japanese-Canadian newspapers and language schools were shut down, and thirty-eight leaders who were regarded as suspicious were arrested.[6] The following year, the Canadian government decided to uproot all Japanese people from the West Coast and to confiscate their property. The experience of the evacuation, which totally destroyed the Japanese community in British Columbia physically and psychologically, became a defining moment for British Columbian Japanese and tended to exclude Albertan Japanese from their collective memory of pain. The Japanese in Alberta were not forced to move or stripped of their possessions, and some settlements, especially in southern Alberta, received evacuees who suddenly emphasized the Japanese presence in the province. As the war drew to an end, the treatment of the Japanese evacuees became controversial, and many Canadians generally argued that the government should not deport loyal Japanese.[7] Some stood by the Japanese, insisting that "the younger generation of Canadian Japanese" were "thoroughly and obviously Canadian,"[8] and that many of them did not have "the slightest sympathy with Japan's present day culture or mode of life."[9] Criticism of racism in British Columbia also appeared in a few places, particularly from Co-operative Commonwealth Federation circles.[10]

Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978).

[6] Masako Iino, *Nikkei Kanadajin No Rekishi* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1997), 105.

[7] For example, *Saturday Night*, "Japanese Canadians," 24 June 1944, 3; "The Japanese Canadians," 21 July 1945, 3; Jarvis McCurdy, "Are Japanese Canadians Induced To Deny Their Citizenship?" 15 September 1945, 2; W.J. Williams, "Indignation in B.C.," 24 November 1945 2; and Dorothy Anne MacDonald, "Keep Jap Canadians' Faith in Democracy," 1 December 1945, 20-20a.

[8] "Once a Jap...?" *ibid.*, 3 March 1945, 3.

[9] "Neither Good Nor Wise," *ibid.*, 1 December 1945, 3.

[10] See, for example, *ibid.*, Norman Fergus Black, "The Problem of Japanese Canadians, and Solution," 5 February 1944, 12; "Against Orientals," 13 October 1945, 3; and A. McKinley Rose, "Fouling Our Own Nest," 17 November 1945, 2.

However, anti-Japanese feeling remained strong in British Columbia on the grounds that the Japanese had never assimilated to Canadian society and never would.[11]

Government actions with respect to Canada's so-called foreign elements tested the loyalty of and imposed a strain on both Japanese and Ukrainians, but they also provided an opportunity to seek to improve their position in Canadian society. Always conscious of their communist and *issei* counterparts with whom they had to share influence and a public image, Ukrainian nationalists and Japanese *nisei* at the elite level adopted somewhat similar propaganda to prove their loyalty to Canada and its allies and to claim to represent "all people" in their respective communities. Mobilizing their people behind the Canadian war effort was a major step in acceptance, because it would both confirm the elite's leadership and promote a much more Canadianized and positive image of themselves and the group. Both the Ukrainian nationalist organ, *Ukrainskyi holos*, and the Japanese *nisei* newspaper, the *New Canadian*, pledged allegiance to Canada and identified their people strongly with its ideals and current challenges as loyal citizens. *Ukrainskyi holos*, for example, emphasized:

> A large majority of Ukrainians in Canada were not only educated in Canada but also born in Canada. For that reason, there is no room for hesitation on where we stand now; Ukrainian Canadians oppose the aggressions of Russia and Germany, and hope for the Ukrainian people can only be seen in the victory of Great Britain and France, the ideal of democracy, and harmonious co-existence.[12]

The *New Canadian* took a similar stance:

> There is hope for Canada. Like all healthy peoples, we Canadians argue and bicker in time of peace. But now that we are faced with a national emergency, we draw together and narrow sectionalism is forgotten. . . It must be the Japanese in us that

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[11] For example, see *ibid.*, J.A. Paton, "Says Shinto Jap Can't Keep Oath of Loyalty to Canada," 22 July 1944, 2; Ben Hughes, "The Diehard Attitude Towards Japanese Living in Canada," 11 August 1945, 2; and H.W. Farmer, "How About Citizenship?" 3 November 1945, 2.

[12] *Ukrainskyi holos*, 1 January 1940, 1.

> makes us love so ardently the land which gave us birth. We have no other choice. Canada is our home and we must be keep it free and beautiful.[13]

The war effort of Ukrainian nationalists and Japanese *nisei* often crystallized around calls to purchase Victory Bonds, participate in Red Cross work, and enlist in the military - publicizing the amount of money each group collected and the names of those who had volunteered.[14] The *New Canadian*, for example, featured the oldest son of the Yamauchi family who joined the army from the Opal/Maybridge area. Because Japanese could not enlist after Pearl Harbor, the few exceptional servicemen were very important in showing "Japanese" loyalty. Such topics as criticism of the Nazis, loyalty to Canada, and efforts on behalf of Canadian victory repeatedly appeared on *Ukrainskyi holos* and the *New Canadian*. In this way, Ukrainian nationalists and Japanese *nisei* sought not only to improve the image and position of the Ukrainian and Japanese communities in Canadian society, but also to distinguish themselves from Ukrainian communists and Japanese *issei* who were not always supporters of "Canada's" war.

After the sudden challenges of 1941, first Germany's invasion of Russia and then Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, Ukrainian nationalists and Japanese *nisei* found it particularly imperative to emphasize the principle of fighting for Canada. They did not, however, totally neglect how their own specific agenda could be fulfilled in the course of or after the war, and saw an appeal to democratic ideals as a useful strategy to eliminate persistent discrimination, as Nazi policy increasingly created an atmosphere opposed to racism. In this sense, even though World War II created a challenge for the Ukrainians and Japanese, it also provided an opportunity to work for their respective political goals in the Canadian context. As Thomas M. Prymak argues, the British and Soviet alliance, which rehabilitated the communists and made Russia "our fatherland," prevented nationalist Ukrainians from openly criticizing the Soviet Union; they also had to watch comments on Ukrainian independence which might be construed as "pro-German" or "pro-fascist." In fact, the first national congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) in 1943 decided to discuss the Ukrainian issue only with in a "Canadian context."[15] But it obviously embraced nationalist agenda. For example, the opening address of president W. Kushnir set the stage, linking Canada's commitment to lofty ideals with the rights due all peoples and nations, including Ukrainians' homeland:

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[13] *New Canadian*(Vancouver edition, Japanese), 15 September 1939, 1.

[14] See, for example, *Ukrainskyi holos*, 19 November 1939, 46; 31 December 1941, 53; and *New Canadian* (Vancouver edition, Japanese), 9 February 1940, 1; 23 February 1940, 1; 21 February, 5; 5 June 1941, 1; 12 December 1941, 3; 6 February 1942, 1; 12 June 1942, 1; 26 June 1942, 1.

> As all other peoples the Ukrainian Canadians long for peace, but not for peace at any price. We long for a peace based on victory and justice. . . This is to be a victory not only on land, on sea, and in the air, but a complete and total victory for the ideals of Canada, - ideals which guarantee to all the freedom to worship God, and which respect the personal liberty of every individual and of every nation.[16]

The Japanese *nisei* newspaper was always censored, and between 12 April and 30 June, 1942 came under the control of the British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) appointed by the federal government to deal with the Japanese evacuation; thereafter, it tended to emphasize the good part of the evacuees' lives and loyalty to Canada among the Japanese.[17] Some articles in the *New Canadian* even argued that the Japanese were "not guiltless" in being uprooted and that "racially segregated colonies" like those created by the Japanese on the West Coast hindered assimilation.[18] But the Japanese *nisei* also tried to address their own concerns, criticizing racism and calling for the Japanese to receive the franchise. The evacuation, to some extent, gave Japanese activities momentum, as the Canadian generation stood against its people's unjust treatment. Spokespersons equated the anti-Japanese policies of the Canadian government with the Nazis, who increasingly became an international symbol of evil. For example, the *New Canadian* quoted an Ottawa newspaper which stated that "this country in the treatment of its citizens can't afford to be pulled down to the Nazi level of barbaric notions about race."[19] The *nisei* were also concerned about the treatment of the Japanese after the war and hoped for "goodwill" on the part of the government.[20] In particular, *nisei* leaders often denounced the arbitrary loss of civil liberties:

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[15] Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident*, 19.

[16] Ukrainian Canadian Committee, *First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1943), 28.

[17] Norio Tamura and Mitsuru Shinpo, "Senji Chu Kanada No Nikkeishi 1," *Tokyo Keizai Daigaku Kaishi* 145 (March 1986): 250-251.

[18] *New Canadian* (Vancouver edition Japanese), 4 February 1942, 1; 20 January 1944, 7.

> It is, perhaps, inconceivable that in a supposed democratic country so grave an invasion against any other person, wholly innocent of any indictable crime, could be countenanced. Certainly, legal restrictions upon even Enemy Aliens of other racial origins had not reached the limits imposed upon natural-born or naturalized Canadian citizens of Japanese descent. . . But the entire fabric of Canadian democracy is likewise being tested.[21]

This firm statement clearly indicates that the *nisei* became increasingly vocal about their rights as Canadian citizens, drawing an unspoken line between themselves and "Enemy Aliens" who retained their Japanese nationality at the outbreak of the war. The war apparently brought a moral turning point for ethnic and racial issues, creating a sense of rights and injustice by which the Ukrainian and Japanese elites argued for full integration and equality in Canadian society.

While Ukrainian nationalists and Japanese *nisei* always supported the mainstream Canadian war effort, Ukrainian communists and Japanese *issei* did not. As a result, both subgroups lost their press. Ukrainian communists, however, regained their voice after spring 1941, publishing *Ukrainske zhyttia* (Ukrainian life) and *Ukrainske slovo* (Ukrainian word). The Japanese *issei* newspaper, *Tairiku Nippo*, in contrast, continued to be banned as long as Japan was a belligerent.[22] Although individuals relied on the *New Canadian*, which started to publish messages from the government in Japanese and English, the *issei* did not necessarily support the ideals of the newspaper. In fact, some remained loyal to the Japanese emperor. Before Canada officially declared war on Japan, *Tairiku Nippo* carried messages from abroad that encouraged the Japanese in Canada to have a "Japanese spirit," to take part in "Japan's war effort," and to be proud of themselves as "part of imperial Japan."[23] Even during the war, residents of one of the biggest interior camps, Tashme, produced their own daily newspaper transcribed from Japanese broadcasts through a short-wave radio; the news did not hesitate to publish "Japanese victories in the Pacific, Burma, and North China."[24] That the large number of *issei* loyal to Japan still secretly wished for Japan's victory is illustrated by their attitude on leaving British Columbia, described as hoisting Japan's "Rising Sun flag" in their minds.[25] The memoirs of an evacuee also describe how people were pleased to receive soya sauce, *miso*, and green tea sent by the Red Cross:

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[19] *Ibid.*, 1 January 1944, 1.

[20] For postwar concerns, see, for example, *ibid.*, 27 March 1943, 3; 2 June 1943, 2; 18 March 1944, 2; 15 July 1944, 1.

[21] *Ibid.*, 3 June 1944, 2.

> We did not know who sent them. We said, "Thanks to Japan. Long live the Emperor! Good luck to our fellow Japanese." We put soya sauce, *miso* and green tea on the table, and let even newly-born babies bow, with tears in everybody's eyes. . . The taste of the Japanese food was beyond description.[26]

Obviously, the *issei*'s thoughts and interests stayed far away from those of the *New Canadian*, which also distinguished *nisei* and naturalized *issei* from the rest, Enemy Aliens.

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[22] *Tairiku Nippo* was reissued from November 1948 to 31 March, 1982 in Toronto as *Tairiku Jiho*.

[23] *Tairiku Nippo*, 1 January 1938, 1.

[24] Roy, Granatstein, Iino, and Takamura, *Mutual Hostages*, 129.

[25] Tomoko Makabe, *Picture Brides: Japanese Women in Canada*, trans. Kathleen Chisato Merken (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1983; reprint, Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1995.), 59 (page citations are to the reprinted edition.)

[26] Kiyoko Kouyama, *Suro Kohan No Omoide* (Okayama: Yuri utakai, 1959), 44, quoted in Norio Tamura and Mitsuru Shinpo, "Senji Chu Kanada No Nikkeishi 3," *Tokyo Keizai Daigaku Kaishi* 150 (March 1987): 240.

The war forced the Japanese in Canada to rethink where they psychologically belonged, and served to increase the distance between two generational subgroups.

While World War II changed the roles that the Ukrainian and Japanese elites could play, completely excluding suspicious elements from Canada's war effort, it also affected the grassroots, especially among the Japanese who saw their lives uprooted. The war not only confiscated the property and homes of British Columbian Japanese, but also deprived them of security, liberty and occupations. Exclusion from Canadian society and the war effort, combined with the series of government policies and anti-Japanese sentiment, also created a sense of humiliation and hopelessness. Another challenge came when the King government announced its post war plans to resettle the Japanese in the eastern part of Canada or to deport them to Japan. The Ukrainians, for their part, also faced uncertainty and insecurity, given their personal or collective memory of internment during the Great War. They, however, also had their first opportunity to work together with mainstream society, on behalf of the Canadian war effort.[27] Involvement in home-front activities, together with military service overseas, strengthened Ukrainians' sense of belonging to Canada, and became a crucial step for their recognition by mainstream society as partners. This difference with the Japanese perhaps created the greatest gap between the two minority groups since their arrival in Canada, and even affected the multiethnic farm settlement of Opal/Maybridge where Ukrainians and Japanese lived side by side.

The impact of the war on ethnic relations in Opal/Maybridge was quite complex. The settlers had already developed a sense of community through personal contacts for twenty years by the time hostilities broke out, and the emergence of Enemy Aliens among their neighbours and friends puzzled many people. At the same time, in looking back at these years, and constructing their own collective memory and identity, Japanese and

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[27] Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 180-182.

Ukrainian informants often emphasize similarities rather than differences in their experiences.[28] John Hawrelko, for example, conveyed his assessment of the war years when he said, "We were born here, we went to the same school, and we played on the same ball team."[29] Many settlers, including the Japanese, remember Opal/Maybridge as a peaceful place with no discrimination, even during the war, emphasizing they were already "Canadians." This ~~stress on~~ the "Canadian" side of their experience, however, tends to hide more sensitive ethnic divisions and tensions in the district, as Ukrainian and Japanese informants did not always have a consensus on how ethnic issues were treated during the war.

The outbreak of World War II brought many changes to the small rural settlement of Opal/Maybridge. The general government wartime policies and activities affected Ukrainian and Japanese settlers equally, creating a "common" experience which informants emphasized. Like Canadians elsewhere, families in Opal/Maybridge felt the impact of the enlistment of young men, the rationing of luxuries and oil, and a general wartime atmosphere fueled by government propaganda and the activities of organizations like the Red Cross. As the results of the conscription vote in 1942 indicate, area residents did not always support the war wholeheartedly, as the heavily Ukrainian electoral district of Vegreville, to which Opal/Maybridge belonged, had the lowest percentage of "Yes" votes in Alberta.[30] The departure of young men, in particular, spelled a big challenge: not only did parents worry about their sons, but farmers also lost a source of labour, increasing the workload of those who remained. Edward Wachowich remembers:

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[28] Bruce M. Ross points out the general tendency of social illusion to emphasize similarities rather than differences; see his *Remembering the Personal Past: Descriptions of Autobiographical Memory* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 153.

[29] John Hawrelko, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 9 July 1998.

[30] The approximate percentages of "Yes" votes in each constituency in Alberta were as follows: Acadia, 70; Athabaska, 50; Battle River, 72; Bow River, 75; Calgary East, 85; Calgary West, 90; Camrose, 64; Edmonton East, 80; Edmonton West, 86, Jasper-Edson, 59; Macleod, 73; Lethbridge, 78, Medicine Hat, 57; Peace River, 75; Red Deer, 80, Vegreville, 39; Wetaskiwin, 57. *Edmonton Journal*, 28 April 1942, 1.

> It [the war] changed the structure of our town. . . . No longer any baseball team, a shortage of workers on the farms, the other boys were conscripted in the army. I had to start working. On my cousin's farm, I used to drive a tractor, cut hay, which I wouldn't have been doing if things had stayed the same. They had threshing in fall. I worked on the threshing machine. I worked hard. So World War II in many ways had a very big impact on me.[31]

As Wachowich mentions, recreational activities such as baseball, organized and dominated by young people, died out. Also, the school became an important ally in the government's effort to unite people regardless of ethnic origins behind the war effort, supporting the Red Cross and Victory Loan campaigns. Allan Wachowich remembers collecting bottles and soap for bullets in the school; teachers also spent time discussing the progress of the war before classes began in the morning. The community seemed to show great interest in these activities. "We had tea and charged to get funds for the Red Cross," Josie Stepchuk recalls. "We bought a bed for a hospital. That was a big thing."[32] The war obviously promoted a sense of belonging to Canada by creating a cooperative atmosphere, which helped Ukrainian and Japanese informants to create a "better" memory of the war, consistent with their interwar experience of working together.

In addition to these pan-Canadian phenomena, people in Opal/Maybridge also felt the impact of the measures taken by the federal government against specific ethnic groups, particularly the Japanese. While local Japanese were not deprived of any properties or uprooted, they could not travel without registering with the RCMP, were finger printed, and had to give up their guns.[33] In addition, war propaganda featuring the evil conduct of Nazi Germany and Canada's enemies generally was transmitted through movies shown locally and often increased anti-Japanese sentiment in the district, particularly after on Pearl Harbor. Allan Wachowich, for example, remembers portraits of Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo being brought to Opal and painted out by a group of local farmers. The evacuation of British Columbian Japanese from the West Coast was also regarded as the "right thing" to do and "what they deserve."[34] Yet non-Japanese informants tended to detach the evil image of Japan from local Japanese families, emphasizing that they were "neighbours" and "friends." The remarks of Edward Wachowich suggest that the situation was a complicated one:

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[31] Edward Wachowich, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 9 November 1998.

[32] Josie Stepchuk, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 21 August 1998.

[33] Joyce Kiyooka, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 12 June 1998.

> There was a bit of that [name-calling]. They thought that Japanese were disloyal. Some people would say "dirty Jap." We occasionally heard of that. But at the same time, the oldest Yamauchi boy joined the army. Henry Yamauchi was in the reserve army, so you could not turn on those people. The oldest Yamauchi boy, Shoji [Peter], because he spoke Japanese, got into the intelligence. When the war ended, he had a pretty good job. So, somewhat mixed.[35]

However, the Japanese, who did not always distinguish themselves from Japan, for their part often thought that discrimination and prejudice were directed towards themselves. As Florence Shikaze recalls, they had little recourse:

> Once they got to know you, they were all right. But there was the time when we were called names. At that time, you did not react. You felt badly. When they said something about that, I would say my brother was a soldier in the Canadian army. This was all I could say. You could not say very much else.[36]

Although both Wachowich and Shikaze admitted that anti-Japanese sentiment existed in the district, they differed slightly in how they perceived local feelings against the Japanese caused by the war. Also, the possibility that the Ukrainians, who wanted to be seen as loyal, might distance themselves from suspected Japanese despite their close relationship, was completely absent, as both sides were uncomfortable discussing such cleavage within their community.[37]

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[34] Edward Wachowich, interview.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Florence Shikaze, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 15 June 1998.

While tensions between the Japanese and other local farmers sometimes emerged in Opal/Maybridge, intra-group ideological divisions at the elite or national level between communists and nationalists or *issei* and *nisei* were not greatly apparent. The war, however, was a time when residents of the rural community became more conscious of their ethnicity in many ways - not because they understood or supported the political goals of their elites, but because they were concerned about immediate suspicions caused by their old-country origins. This tendency was especially seen among the Japanese. The only Japanese to volunteer from the area, Peter Yamauchi, became an important figure of legitimacy for the Japanese in the Opal/Maybridge area, and was often referred to by informants, even though his main reason for enlistment was that he could not find any other job. In addition, the Japanese families in the district demonstrated their Canadian consciousness, collecting donations together and offering them to the Canadian government.[38] Ukrainian families like the Hawrelkos and the Andruskis also sent their military-age sons overseas, as it was a highly respectable and "Canadian" thing to do, despite the fact that their parents were reluctant to let them go. While Ukrainian informants did not always see enlistment as a particularly "Ukrainian" gesture, there is some indication that fear of a disloyal label existed even among local Ukrainians based on their ethnic origin and memory of internment during the Great War. Josie Stepchuck, for example, recalls,

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[37] Gloria Kupchenko Frolick wrote a short story about a married Ukrainian woman ostracized in the Ukrainian bloc because of her wartime affair with a Japanese worker, whose child she bore. This kind of attitude towards the Japanese was not seen in Opal/Maybridge. See "Another Wartime Casualty," in her *The Green Tomato Years: Short Stories* (Toronto: Williams-Wallace, 1985), 103-112.

[38] Minister of National Defense, letter to T. Saito, 18 November 1940, personal collection of Chizuko Kimura.

"Everything was very quiet during the war in the country, because you were afraid of saying something, and you were afraid of doing anything."[39]

This does not mean, however, that local farmers were totally ignorant of or disinterested in the situation in their homelands; often evidence suggests that the immigrant generation in particular was concerned with what was happening in the old country. People sometimes gathered in Wachowich's general store to listen to the radio news from the European front. Edward Wachowich remembers a Pole saying that "Polish people are going to have to stick together" and a Japanese insisting that "the Japanese are going to win this war."[40] William Barabash explains the position of their parents' generation: "They were certainly interested in what was happening there [overseas], because it was getting too close to what they still considered the original homeland."[41] While these concerns were not frequently expressed in public to the extent that they caused political labels such as "pro-Soviet," "pro-Nazi," or "pro-Japan," the war made the Opal/Maybridge settlement more ethnically sensitive, often reminding residents of their in-between identity.

The Second World War challenged both Ukrainian and Japanese communities in Canada, long used to marginalization, and tested their loyalty. Government policies to unite Canadians behind the war effort and to single out "foreign elements" which might undermine national unity also affected both groups. The Japanese, most of whom lost their livelihood, particularly, felt a sense of self-worthlessness and injustice. The Ukrainians, for their part, were wanted and expected to fulfill "Canadian" goals, being given the opportunity to participate in mainstream society for the first time. Yet by encouraging an emphasis on the ideals of democracy and an anti-racist mood, the war created an environment for Ukrainians and Japanese to argue for their place in Canadian society. The impact of the war on ethnic relations could also be seen in a relatively isolated multiethnic settlement like Opal/Maybridge, despite the close relationship between local Ukrainians and Japanese, fostering ethnic sensitivities in the district or exaggerating consciousness of ethnicity. However, the fact that the district had already developed a sense of community throughout the interwar period, with which local Ukrainians and Japanese felt comfortable, facilitated the development of a the collective wartime memory of Opal/Maybridge community as a "peaceful" and "tolerant" place.

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[39] Stepchuk, interview.

[40] Edward Wachowich, interview.

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[41] William Barabash, interview by author, tape recording, Edmonton, AB, 24 October 1998.

Conclusion

An examination of the relationship between Ukrainians and Japanese in the Opal/Maybridge district of east central Alberta provides a good case study of the impact of ethnicity on community building in multiethnic settlements on the prairies. Ethnicity, as a politicized phenomenon, emerged around the cultural traditions, languages, beliefs and values that the Ukrainian and Japanese immigrants brought from their respective homelands, as these elements gained significance as ethnic symbols and points of identifications once they entered Canada. An acceptance of ethnic difference was incorporated into the local Opal/Maybridge identity through various kinds of interaction such as borrowing, socializing, cooperating, and more formal gatherings involving the two groups. Local farmers gradually developed a sense of "community" beyond cultural and linguistic barriers, and gradually promoted a sense of belonging to Canada, or their own specific geographical area, reflecting a homogeneous and homogenizing aspect of their experience. Ethnic, religious, and racial divisions rarely caused tensions or discrimination in normal everyday life. Rather, the multiethnic character of the settlement created a positive self-image and identity, as the informants, in retrospect, emphasized the difference between Opal/Maybridge and other prairie settlements in their cultural tolerance.

While ethnicity did not usually cause any hostility in the settlement, tensions between Anglo-Canadians and the Ukrainians and Japanese increased when the Opal/Maybridge area was influenced by forces outside its narrow world. The main institution which propagated Anglo-Canadian assimilationist ideas was the school, in which the immigrants' children felt that they were treated as inferior. The political messages from Ukrainian and Japanese ethnic elites, on the other hand, entered the area through ethnic secular or religious institutions such as a Ukrainian hall and church. Although the settlers did not always regard themselves as an active part of their larger ethnic communities, the divisions important at elite levels could function as divisive forces in Opal/Maybridge. Ukrainians, for example, were often regarded as "communists" by others, and while churches were usually open to the general public, they sometimes drew lines between the non-Christian Japanese and the Christian others. Ethnic tensions became strongest in the district during World War II, when the Ukrainians were expected to work for the war effort alongside the mainstream society and the Japanese became Enemy Aliens. Although the sudden appearance of Enemy Aliens among their neighbours puzzled people who already had a well-established sense of community by the outbreak of the war, anti-Japanese sentiment segregated the Japanese families from those of other origins. In this way, ethnic differences became pronounced and divisive.

This thesis provides some new perspectives on ethnic groups in the Canadian West, investigating the interplay of different kinds of community and identity – local, Canadian, and ethnic. First, although many studies of ethnic groups focus on ethnic politics only at the elite level, and neglect the "people" which constitute a significant part of their ethnic community, this thesis incorporates the attitudes and responses of the grassroots. While Opal/Maybridge Ukrainian and Japanese were not as politicized as their ethnic leaders, they seem to have maintained or discovered ethnic identities. Second, this thesis offers insights into how both ethnic agenda and mainstream notions such as Anglo-conformity and the melting pot worked out in a multiethnic and multiracial settlement on the frontier. An environment in which the settlers, more or less, had to rely on their neighbours and develop face-to-face relations, alleviated ethnic tensions and hostilities, at the same time as Anglo-Canadians often profited from their linguistic, cultural, and political advantages even through Ukrainians dominated in the settlement. In the Opal/Maybridge area, racial and cultural differences between the Ukrainians and Japanese normally seem to have affected their relationship little, and especially with the second generation a homogeneous "Canadian" side to their local identity became apparent. Third, the comparative approach to the culturally, racially, and linguistically different groups, Ukrainians and Japanese employed in this thesis presented a different process in which two minority groups were accepted by mainstream Canadian society at national level, yet showed that Opal/Maybridge Ukrainians and Japanese went through relatively similar experiences as non-British people and as prairie farmers. While Ukrainian cultural influence was much stronger than Japanese in the district, caused mainly by their numeric strength, Japanese families also had a impact on the formation of Opal/Maybridge local identity.

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Hawrelko, John. Interview by author. Tape recording. Redwater AB, 9 July 1998. [John Hawrelko is a second generation Ukrainian. He was born at Opal on August 3, 1927 as the fourth son of Andrei and Magdalena Hawrelko who immigrated from the village of Krasne, Ivano-Frankivusk, in Galicia. He came to Edmonton around 1944 to finish high school and train as a teacher. He now lives in Redwater.]

Kimura, Bruce. Interview by author. Tape recording. Edmonton AB, 18 August 1998. [Bruce Kimura is a second-generation Japanese. He was born in Edmonton (hospital) on November 15, 1929, as the third son of Toyomatsu and Kuni Kimura, after they had already moved to the farm at Maybridge from Edmonton. They immigrated from Fukuoka, Kyushu. Bruce Kimura now lives in Calgary.]

Kimura, Chizuko. Interview by author. Tape recording. Redwater AB, 25 June 1998. [Chizuko Kimura is a second-generation Japanese. She was born in Raymond, Alberta and came to Maybridge in 1946 to marry James Kimura, the first son of Toyomatsu and Kuni Kimura. She taught in schools around Redwater. James Kimura was born on May 15, 1916, in Edmonton, moved to Maybridge in 1927, and lived on the original farm until he passed away. Chizuko Kimura continues to live on the farm.]

Kimura, Frank. Interview by author. Tape recording. Edmonton AB, 11 July 1998. [Frank Kimura is a second-generation Japanese. He was born in Edmonton (hospital) on May 28, 1934, while his parents lived at Maybridge. He was the only son of Tomoichi and Shinobu Kimura, who came from Fukuoka, Kyushu. He moved to Edmonton to attend high school in 1950. He lives in Edmonton.]

Kiyooka, Joyce. Interview by author. Tape recording. Edmonton AB, 12 June 1998. [Joyce Kiyooka is a second-generation Japanese. She was born on January 15, 1930 in Calgary as the second daughter of Harry and Mary Kiyooka, who came from Kochi. Her family moved to Opal in 1941. Joyce Kiyooka moved to Edmonton in 1952 and continues to live there.]

Shikaze, Florence. Interview by author. Tape recording. Edmonton AB, 15 June 1998. [Florence Shikaze is a second-generation Japanese. She was born at Opal on

August 10, 1928, as the youngest daughter of Sampei and Kon Yamauchi, who immigrated from Shizuoka. Her family moved to Opal around 1920, and left the area for Edmonton in 1941. She continues to live in Edmonton.]

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Wachowich, Allan. Interview by author. Tape recording. Edmonton AB, 16 November 1998. [Allan Wachowich is a second-generation Polish Ukrainian. He was born on March 8, 1935, in Edmonton (hospital) as the second son of Philip and Nancy Wachowich, who came from Galicia. His parents came to Opal around 1919. His family moved to Edmonton in 1944. He continues to live in Edmonton, working as an associate chief judge in Alberta.]

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Appendix

Interviews and Questionnaire

Five Japanese and six Ukrainians were selected for interviews arbitrarily from a list of acquaintances provided by the first two interviewees, John Hawrelko and Chizuko Kimura. Both are long-time residents of the area, active in preserving its history, and in the 1990s they spearheaded the erection of a historic marker on Highway 28 commemorating the Japanese settlement. The initial approach was by telephone, informing potential interviewees of the research project and how any information would be used. Interviews were one-on-one and taped, based on questions prepared in advance (see attached questionnaire). The questions had five main themes: background, everyday life, institutions (schools, churches, political / cultural organizations), recreational activities, and World War II. At the end of the interview informants were encouraged to talk about whatever they liked and remembered. Informants were later given the chance to review the typed transcripts and make corrections if they desired. The recorded tapes, transcripts, and signed release and consent forms (as required by the ethics review committee of the Faculty of Arts) are kept by the author.

I. BACKGROUND

1. When were you born?

2. Where were you born?

3. Who were your parents?

4. Who were the other members of your family / household when you were growing up?

5. Where did you live when you were growing up?

6. Where did your parents come from in Japan / Ukraine?

7. Were your mother and father married before they came to Canada? How did they meet each other?

8. What were your parents' occupations in Japan / Ukraine? What kind of education did they have?

9. When did your parents leave Japan / Ukraine? How old were they when they left?

10. Did your parents settle anywhere else before coming to Canada? How long did they stay? What did they do?

11. How did your parents learn about Canada?

12. Why did your parents decide to come to Canada?

13. Did your parents have any relatives or friends in Canada?

14. What were their expectations of Canada?

15. How did your parents get the money to come to Canada? Were they supported or sponsored by anyone?

16. Did your parents come alone or with family members or friends?

17. What did they do in Canada before coming to Opal / Maybridge?

18. When did your parents come to Opal / Maybridge? Why?

19. How much did your parents know about Opal / Maybridge before they came?

20. What was your parents' first impression about Opal / Maybridge?

21. What did they know about farming on the prairies?

II. EVERYDAY LIFE

1. Did your parents purchase their farm or rent? From whom?

2. What was your family's farming operation like? (For example, livestock or grain, use of hired hands, gendered division of labour, farm size compared to other Japanese / Ukrainian neighbours) What particular problems and challenges did your parents face? How did they solve them?

3. What was your house like? Did your parents build it or buy it? Was there anything specifically Japanese / Ukrainian about the inside or furnishings?

4. Was food / clothing homegrown / homemade? Did you make / eat Japanese or Ukrainian foods? Which ones?

5. What problems (such as disease, childbirth, and distance) did your parents face? How did they solve them? Did you ask others for help? Did they go to the hospital when you became sick? Who helped your mother when her children were born?

6. How did the Depression during the 1930s affect your family? Do you remember going without things?

7. What kinds of people were your neighbours?

8. Did you often visit your neighbours? Did they often visit you? On what occasions?

9. Did you socialize more with fellow Japanese / Ukrainians with than people of other origins?

10. How did you view the British? Japanese? Ukrainians? Did your ethnic and racial background affect your relations with your neighbours and circle of friends?

11. What languages did you speak at home?

12. Did your family or parents keep in touch with anyone in Japan (Ukraine)? Who and how?

13. What personal contacts did your family have with Japanese / Ukrainians in other parts of Canada?

14. Did you learn much about Japan / Ukraine and Japanese / Ukrainian culture from your parents? What specifically?

15. Were there any points on which you were culturally different from your parents?

16. Were there any points on which you were culturally different from people of other ethnic origins in the community?

III. INSTITUTIONS

SCHOOL

1. Where did you go to school? From what year to what year? To what grade?

2. How did you get to school?

3. How many students were in your school? What was the ethnic / racial background?

4. Did you regularly attend school? Did weather, transportation, seasonal work on the farm or other factors affect your attendance?

5. Were your teachers local or did they come from elsewhere? What did you learn from outsiders compared to someone from the community?

6. What did you learn about Japan / Ukraine in school? What countries / history did the curriculum focus on?

7. Were there any differences between what you learned at home and at school?

8. Did you see your classmates outside school? On what occasions?

9. Were you aware of ethnic differences among your classmates? On what points did you think you were different from others?

10. Did ethnic, racial, or religious differences affect your friendships?

11. Were there any other purposes than learning for which you went to school?

CHURCH

12. Did your family identify with any particular religious faith? Which?

13. Was religious belief / ritual an important part in your family's private life in the home?

14. Did your family regularly go to church? Which church did you attend? Was there a local resident priest?

15. Was it important for your parents to worship together with others of the same faith?

16. *For Japanese.* Were there many Buddhists in Opal / Maybridge? Did you have opportunities to get together? Did you go to other churches? why?

17. Did you or your parents ever convert or change your religious affiliation? Why?

18. On special occasions such as death and marriage, did you have ceremonies based on Buddhist / Ukrainian tradition?

19. Did you have any contacts with Buddhist / Ukrainian churches outside Opal / Maybridge? What kinds of contacts?

CULTURAL / POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

20. Did you use any community based institutions such as community halls? For what purposes?

21. Were there any associations, organizations, concerts, or lectures through which you received a political or cultural message from Japanese / Ukrainian community outside Opal / Maybridge? What were these gatherings like?

22. Were there any institutions such as co-operatives which connected Japanese / Ukrainians in Opal / Maybridge with outside communities?

23. Did Japanese / Ukrainians outside the community ever visit Opal / Maybridge for any purposes other than personal visiting?

24. Did you or your parents read any Japanese / Ukrainian newspapers? Which ones?

25. Did you and your parents see yourselves as part of a larger Japanese / Ukrainian organized community in Canada? How?

26. What were the attitudes of local Japanese / Ukrainians to Japan / Ukraine?

27. *For Japanese.* Did you attend Ukrainian cultural events? Which ones? What did you think of them?

28. Do you remember your parents attending local political meetings, or talking about the United Farmers of Alberta, Social Credit, or even the Prime Minister?

IV. RECREATION

1. How did you play in your childhood? Who did you play with?

2. Did you participate in formal recreational activities? What kinds? In connection with school? Outside school?

3. Were recreational activities important in your life? In what sense?

4. How did you find out about the recreational activities you attend?

5. Where did you participate in the recreational activities you attended?

6. When did you participate in activities? What age were you?

7. Were there any factors (environmental, social, physical, economic, etc.) which hindered or facilitated your participation in recreational activities?

8. What culture was dominant in recreational activities? For example, what kinds of sports, foods, dances etc.?

9. Did you celebrate traditional Japanese / Ukrainian or other ethnic events? With whom? How?

10. Why did you participate in recreational activities? Did you have reasons other than enjoying the activities themselves?

11. Who organized the activities in which you participated?

12. Who did you meet through recreational activities? Was ethnicity, age, gender, or religion relevant to these activities? Were there any activities which tended to be dominated by a specific group? Were there any activities in which many people participated regardless of ethnicity, age, gender, and religion?

13. Did you meet new people? Travel to surrounding centres?

V. WORLD WAR II

1. What do you remember about the beginning of World War II? Did it affect your life? How?

2. Were you aware of events outside Canada? How?

3. How did the war affect people in Opal / Maybridge generally?

4. Did things change after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor?

5. Did you and your parents feel the impact of the war in the same ways?

6. Were you aware of the situation of the Japanese people on the West Coast? How did you find out? What was your reaction ?

7. Did your neighbours / you change their / your attitudes toward your / Japanese family during the war? How?

8. Was there any specific point or period during which your neighbours / you changed their / your attitudes toward your / Japanese family throughout the war?

9. Did you face any official restrictions during the war? What kind?

10. Did you attend any activities in Opal / Maybridge during the war? What? Were there any recreational activities which were suspended during the war? Were there any special activities during the war?

11. Did you attend any institutions such as schools and churches during the war? Did they change their styles?

12. Did you take military training or volunteer military service?

13. Was the war influential in your or your parents' leaving the area?

14. What factors prompted you / your family move away? When?